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# Latin America Report

No. 2150



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# LATIN AMERICA REPORT

No. 2150

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HONDURAN PRESS: REFUGEES REPRESENT CUBAN FAILURE

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 17 Apr 80 p 7

[Text] The most dramatic event so far this year in Latin America has indisputably been the stunning move by thousands of Cuban families seeking refuge in the Peruvian Embassy in Havana.

More than 10,000 persons of both sexes, of all ages and practitioners of every trade and profession are exposed to the elements there (they are crowded into the courtyard of the embassy), waiting anxiously yet hopefully to board the ships and planes that will take them to freedom.

News agencies have issued countless stories on this moving development, which to most political analysts of our hemisphere indicates the incredible oppression and extreme poverty that people are suffering in Cuba, the communist "paradise." One of the reports, issued on the 14th of this month by EFE, states that "while several thousand political refugees remain on the grounds of the Peruvian Embassy and many others in Havana regret not having decided to go there when they had the chance, the governments of Peru and Cuba have not yet agreed on their total number, and this will be a new problem."

But the most striking part of the dispatch is the assertion that "a Cuban official, who, of course, refused to disclose his identity, pointed out that if the embassies of countries with the right of asylum were opened up in this capital, no fewer than 36,000 persons would go and take refuge there."

According to the report, the events at the Peruvian Embassy have given many citizens of this country cause for reflection, citizens who would like to leave the Caribbean island without going through normal emigration procedures, which tend to be incredibly difficult and bothersome, to the extent that they make a normal departure almost impossible.

Families have been seen loitering about the Venezuelan Embassy, again according to EFE, since a street rumor had it that the police guards might be removed at any time, as happened at the Peruvian diplomatic mission.

"The issue of leaving this island in the Antilles dominates the current national scene," the news item states, adding: "In the 21st year of revolutionary government, this is perhaps one of the most severe tests that Fidel Castro's government has undergone, faced, as it suddenly was, by the decision of these thousands of Cubans."

As we know, the regime's newspapers have accused the citizens who have sought refuge in the Peruvian Embassy of belonging to what in communist jargon is called the "lumpen proletarist." The word was coined by Karl Marx to describe criminal or pathological individuals such as prostitutes, thieves, homosexuals, vagrants, various antisocial elements, etc.

However, the independent press of the entire civilized world, not just Latin America, has replied with this blunt question: How can the regime accuse these people of such behavior when just a couple of months ago the same state- and Cuban Communist Party-controlled press was saying in big headlines that in Cuba there was no prostitution, crime, vagrancy, etc, because the revolution had eradicated them?

Neither GRANMA, nor Radio Havana, nor any other propaganda tool of the Marxist dictatorship has answered this question. Nor will they, because deep down they realize that the epithet "lumpen proletariat" has boomeranged against the regime's courtiers.

And what can be said about the frank admission by the unidentified official to the effect that if the doors of the large prison called Cuba were opened up, tens of thousands of persons would opt for freedom?

It is not unlikely, if circumstances are auspicious for him in the near future, that this official will head for an embassy from which he can fly to freedom.

This reveals another basic fact to us: not even government officials are happy, in spite of the privileges that they unquestionably enjoy for serving the USSR, which furnishes the rubles. If they had the chance, they too would join in the mass exodus led by those who were courageous enough to seek asylum at the Peruvian Embassy.

We are witnessing an enormously important event. It is nothing more and nothing less than conclusive proof that totalitarianism cannot break man's spirit, no matter how many years pass. Inside, deep down in his soul, man carries with him the flame of freedom.

That is why we are certain that the oppression weighing down Marti's homeland cannot last forever. That is also why we think that this kind of inhuman and repressive politics will not flourish in our country, because the example that we have before us ought to teach us a lesson and help us to move forward, conscientiously and responsibly, in constructing a full-fledged, just and fraternal democratic society in which a harmonious balance between freedom and well-being will constitute an impregnable wall against the sinister plots of total-itarianism.

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#### INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

NICARAGUAN MINISTER: NO INTERFERENCE IN EL SALVADOR

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 17 Apr 80 p 3

[Speech by the Nicaraguan defense minister and commander-in-chief of the Sandiniat People's Army, Humberto Ortega Saavedra, in Veracruz, Leon, on 16 April 1980]

[Text] Speech by the defense minister and commander-in-chief of the Sandinist People's Army, Comrade Humberto Ortega Saavedra, in Veracruz, Leon on 16 April 1980, at the ceremony commemorating the first anniversary of the heroic death of our Sandinist brothers Oscar Perez Cassar, Roger Deshon Arguello, Edgard Lang Sacasa, Aracelly Perez Darias, Carlos Manuel Jarquin and Idania Fernandez.

"The guerrilla commanders who have just spoken to you, my brothers, have pointed out the enormous courage and the enormous human qualities of the men, the revolutionaries, the heroes, the martyrs whose heroic fall I year ago we are commemorating here today.

"Our working people, the humble people, the people who have been impoverished by the exploiters and exploited by the reactionaries, have always made their presence felt, have always remembered with their actions, their tenacity and their struggles, their heroic brothers who fell striving for ireedom, striving for the power that would enable them to forge a society of new men, in which man would no longer exploit his brothers, in which the workers would forge their own destiny.

"The working people will never forget those who struggled for them. Our people did not merely sacrifice their martyrs, and today our people must not merely commemorate their heroes in beautiful ceremonies like this. No, today and tomorrow our people will pour out millions of drops of sweat for each drop of blood that they spilled to achieve their freedom.

"It is not only through ceremonies such as this one today that we are bolstering our strength to realize the dreams of our brothers who fell in the harsh struggle. "We must enhance our organization at each work center, over each inch of farm land, at each production center, in each factory, at each educational center, at every level of administration, because in this way we will be enhancing the efficiency and quality of the work that our people sweat to do and that will create the wealth to lift our people up from the enormous backwardness, the enormous destruction, the enormous obscurantism that the Yankees and Somozas gave us for more than 150 years of oppression and exploitation.

"Our National Reconstruction Government, our National Directorate of the historic vanguard of the working people, is aware of the major economic and social problems facing this emancipating process of national reconstruction.

"But we are not going to weep over these problems. We are once again calling on our people not to allow themselves to be confused by those who think that our problems, our backwardness resulting from more than 100 years of exploitation, will be overcome quickly.

"The important thing to realize is that our labor of peasant farmers, of blue-collar workers and craftsmen the labor of our white-collar workers, the labor of our women, volumenent those women, those blue-collar workers, those peasant largers, those young people and our old people.

"Our wealth will not go to the big transnational corporations, the imperialists who supported the reactionaries and who still support the few reactionaries who remain in our country and who believe that some day they will again rule this country.

"Our efforts, our sacrifices will be for the future of those who cannot be totally happy today, especially for our children, who are the ones suffering the most today from the backwardness that we inherited from Somoza and the exploiters.

"This is the awareness that we Nicaraguans must possess. Little by little we will lift the country up from backwardness and little by little we will put together a new country and lay the groundwork for the future, the society of free men for which Sandino fought and for which our brothers from Veracruz spilled their young, generous and courageous blood.

"Our people do not allow themselves to be provoked by the maneuvers of reactionaries and imperialists. We know that the continent is on a battle footing, and we know that in El Salvador the working people, just like the Nicaraguan people, are confronting the reactionaries in a bid to take power and forge their own revolutionary, democratic, progressive and peaceful destiny.

"But our people know that the best way to show solidarity with the heroic Salvadoran people and with the other heroic peoples of our Latin America who are struggling against injustice and reactionaries, is, first of all, to consolidate the foundations of this revolution and, with their daily labor, to consolidate the national reconstruction program that is enabling us to lay a solid groundwork for this revolutionary process. It is not by giving in to the provocations of certain elements who want our people to muster troops to fight in El Salvador that we should show solidarity with the people there, because what these elements are after is to give Yankee imperialism a pretext to attack our country, and we are not going to give them that pretext, because we know that the best way to help El Salvador at the moment is, first of all, to consolidate our revolution.

"This does not mean, however, that our people should not be prepared to strike back at any reactionary interference by Somoza or the most reactionary sectors of the U.S. Government.

"We are not going to provoke intervention, but if it occurs, neither are we going to remain kneeling, without fighting, without firmly raising up our fists. A number of our revolutionary brothers have already stated that we will get down on our knees only to till our soil or to steadily point our rifles at the people who would attack the land that feeds us and gives us the bounty of our workers.

"We are not provoking any intervention, but we will not become careless. Commander Eden Pastora has already told us that the best way to defend our sovereignty, our territory, our revolution and the accomplishments of the people, is to organize the people in the Sandinist People's Militias, which consist precisely of the working people, in uniform and prepared to defend their rights, to defend their interests, to defend their revolution.

"That is why we have to organize. Today more than ever we must organize, because without organization our strength wanes. We must move seriously forward in the national reconstruction process. We must not be so romantic as to believe that everything is going to be taken care of in a single day, nor should we be so pessimistic as to think that things are never going to be put in order. This is what the reactionary sectors who want to confuse the hesitant and timid among our people are saying.

"Our position, the position of the Sandinists, is that only through the unity of the people, of the workers, the close-knit unity of laborers and peasant farmers, of Sandinists, will we have that overall unity of Nicaraguans to be able to carry out the national reconstruction programs and defend this revolution. "Without the close-knit unity of the workers there is no close-knit unity throughout the nation, among all the people, and without the unity of all the people of Nicaragua there cannot exist unity among the peoples of Latin America with regard to the indomitable unity of the Nicaraguan people and the indomitable and invincible unity of the workers, the laborers, the peasant farmers and the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the soul and backbone of the workers, of the revolution.

"To conclude, I would like to reiterate that we are not provoking intervention, but I would also like to remind you of what a Latin American revolutionary once said: 'The bonds that I shatter will be my flag; one day, our dead will lift up their arms and defend it still.' That is our spirit. That is our stand.

"And our dead are defending our revolution, because the dead whom we are commemorating today are alive in true Nicaraguans, in the finest Sandinists, the venguard Sandinists, the people who are heading up our literacy drive, the people heading up union work, the people heading up work in the fields, work among youth and women. The dead live on in them, not in the irresolute, the pessimists, the covards and the idlers who want to leach on the strength of our people.

"Let us move on, then. I will not ask for a minute of silence today. Let us say to the heroes of Veracruz: 'We are here!' Let us say to the glorious heroes who fell on this day: 'We are here!'

"A free fatherland or death."

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#### COOPERATION URGED TO SOLVE ILLEGAL CARIBBEAN INDIGRANTS PROBLEM

FL051957 Nassau Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 5 May 80

[Excerpts] The prime minister of the Bahamas, the Right Honorable Lynden O. Pindling, this morning officially opened the 10th annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the Caribbean Development Bank at the Ambassador Beach Hotel. The meeting ends tomorrow and will be followed by a meeting of the Board of Governors of the Caribbean Investments Corporation which works closely with the CDB.

In his opening remarks, Prime Minister Pindling noted that internationally the Caribbean region is part of the Third World consisting of small states and developing countries with various claims for technical assistance and soft loans. Mr Pindling said the countries of the Caribbean basin share a common history of colonial rule which concerned itself with administration rather than development.

[Begin Pindling recording] in 1970, when the bank agreement officially came into force, we were living in a world that, in retrospect, seemed to have been as unpredictable then as it is today. Indeed, at that time the most crucial constraints to economic development in the region could easily have been defined as the inability of some of our countries to mobilize the levels of capital necessary to stimulate and/or sustain economic growth. The accumulation of capital for investment in infrastructure, productive activities and social services is still a major obstacle to economic development in the region. However, I am pleased to observe that the operations of the Caribbean Development Bank over the past decade have not only effectively addressed the availability of capital problems of individual member countries but, in so doing, have also demonstrated the necessity for and the benefits to be gained from regional cooperation in the Caribbean.

In continuing, the prime minister said the outstanding achievements of the CDB to meet the objectives of maximizing resource usage in the region, provision of technical assistance and the development of capital markets within the Caribbean is clearly demonstrated by the fact that within 10 years the bank has approved more than a quarter of a billion dollars in loans to member countries for development of agriculture, industry, ports, roads and airport construction.

[Begin Pindling recording] The government and the people of the Bahamas are grateful to the Cartibbean Development Bank for its participation in the development of our water supply projects and other socially meaningful undertakings. However, we have another problem which has for years followed almost the identical course of Murricane David, which is as tremendous in its proportions and as alarming in its potential. Even before the 1960's, we have been receiving and caring for a substantial population of illegal immigrants. This year, 1986, my colleagues have reported that the illegal population has exceeded 10 percent of our total population and is stretching our resources for accommodating them beyond acceptable limits. In short, we are faced with a problem of depriving our own nationals of basic health, education and social services in order to accommodate illegal immigrants. This is a real problem which might demand regional cooperation to arrive at a just and humane solution. In our deliberations over the next few days you might wish to consider making suggestions as to how the Bahanas might approach this obstacle in the path of its own economic development. [End recording

#### BRIEFS

CARIBBEAN REGION NEEDS FOREIGN AID--The president of the Caribbean Development Bank, William Demas, has observed that after 10 years of CDB operations the majority of countries in the region were today more dependent on external aid flows owing to the world economic crisis. And he cited Jamaica and Guayana as examples of the more developed countries which are experiencing severe economic problems that have increased their reliance on external aid. Mr Demas said the CDB has been able to help such countries through program lending instead of through the usual project loans. The CDB president made the observations at the plenary session of the 10th anniversary meeting of the Caribbean Development Bank in the Bahamas. The meeting opened this morning and it is expected that among matters to be discussed from the wideranging agenda will be an application for membership from Puerto Rico and guidelines and procedures for the bank's operations next year. [Text] [FLO51906 Kingston Domestic Service in Spanish 1730 GMT 5 Nay 80]

BARBADOS

#### BRIEFS

NEW ECONOMIC ORDER'S PROGRESS -- Barbados today complained about the slow progress towards the establishment of a new international economic order. Addressing a science and technology seminar in Bridgetown, Acting Prime Minister Bernard St John said the slow movement towards restructuring the world's economy was a setback to scientific and technological promotion in developing countries. Mr St John noted that the developing world could not be critical of the amount and spread of technology which the developed countries have marshaled over the years. But he pointed out that it was in the interest of the developed countries to share the technology they have developed and to assist and facilitate the efforts of developing countries to achieve development through the application of appropriate technology to their environment. The 5-day seminar is being sponsored by the Organization of American States, the OAS. The objective is an exchange of experience among countries on the formulation and the use of science and technology strategies, programs and projects in the Caribbean. [Text] [FL052012 Kingston Domestic Service in English 1930 GMT 5 May 80]

#### BRIEFS

M-19 LEADER'S IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING-Bogota-Jaime Bateman Cayon, top leader of the 19 April Movement [M-19], received ideological training in Caechoslovakia, France and the Soviet Union before becoming leader of the clandestine organization. Bateman himself made this statement in his interview with German Castro Caycedo published by the newspaper EL SIGLO today. He said that he was indoctrinated in the revolutionary principles in those countries in order to undertake the struggle in Colombia. Bateman said that he has been politically persecuted since 1966 and that he was arrested for the first time in 1963. Finally, the guerrilla leader claimed to have had contacts and participation with the Army of National Liberation, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and the Popular Liberation Army before establishing the M-19. [Test] (PAO81736 Bogota Cadena Radial Super in Spanish 1100 GMT 8 May 80]

SIGNS OF PROGRESS, STABILITY -- Bogota -- Finance Minister Jaime Carcia Parra today defended the process of progressive devaluation currently being inplemented in the country, saying that in this way Colombia will continue providing incentives for its exports and thus counter heavy oil imports. He also said that except in the case of unforeseeable circumstances or those outside the government's control -- such as the rains, hot weather or a hike in international oil prices -- Colombia is showing unequivocal signs of progress and economic stability. Speaking on this station's program "Perspectiva Gigante," Minister Garcia Parra said that the coffee policy readjustment introduced yesterday results from the fact that acceptable conditions have been found, which have made it possible to return to traditional methods. The minister abstained from making any predictions about the level of inflation this year, but he said he was hopeful figures would be lower than in 1979, when inflation reached 29 percent. Commenting on the fuel price hike, he said it is the result of a world phenomenon. He then recalled that since 1973 the overseas price of hydrocarbons increased 30 fold. He asked Colombians not to be alarmed by the circumstances currently affecting the entire world but, on the contrary, to help create a peaceful climate. [Text] [PA092033 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1730 GMT 9 May 80]

GUERRILIAS SURRENDER, OTHERS RELEASED--Bogota, 10 May (AFP)--Two Colombian guerrillas laid down their arms while 10 persons charged with subversion

were released by the military authorities in the past few hours, it was reported here today. Army spokesmen said that Miguel Angel Grisales and Luis Mateus, local leaders of the pro-Castro National Liberation Army [ELN], and the Pedro Leon Arboleda urban Maoist group, respectively, surrendered in Huila and Tolima departments in central Colombia. Both said they were tired of subversive activity and accepted the president's recent appeal to extremist groups to return to normal lives. After admitting their participation in several terrorist activities, the insurgents revealed the existence of differences within the two groups which, they said, contributed to their desertion. Meanwhile, 7 of the 14 persons arrested earlier this week in Bogota on charges of belonging to an ELN cell were released for lack of evidence. The release of three alleged members of the political-military 19 April Movement who were being court-martialed in this capital was also ordered for the same reason. [Text] [PAll1248 Paris AFP in Spanish 1406 GMT 10 May 80]

'HUMANITARIAN FEELINGS' GOVERN COSTA RICA ATTITUDE TO CUBANS

LD051411 Madrid YA in Spanish 23 Apr 80 p 9

[Interview with Rodrigo Carazo, Costa Rican President, by Jose V. Colchero: "Spain and Costa Rica Share Humane Attitude" -- undated]

[Text] [Question] Mr President, is Costa Rica in a position to receive the 10.300 Cubans waiting to leave Havana?

[Answer] Costa Rica has always been a country of asylum. It is physically incapable of receiving more than 10,000 refugees at once in normal conditions—just as it was last year when we received more than 100,000 Nicaraguans. Nevertheless, when these efforts have to be made one can count on the active participation of the community, and I would say that the most important thing for a country granting asylum is that it does not impose any conditions on individuals' indefinite presence. Costa Rica's size demands a movement away. In this particular case of the Cubans, we are opening our national territory to them so that they can enjoy their freedom to make their way from here to wherever they want, without any obstacles.

[Question] Mr President, the Havana-San Jose airlift has been stopped because, according to the Cuban authorities, it could constitute a propaganda maneuver. Are you perhaps waging a war of legal terminology with Fidel Castro?

[Answer] It is very difficult for Fidel Castro and me to understand each other; I would not try to resolve semantic disputes while gambling with people's futures. As far as I am concerned, the humanitarian meaning of asylum is fundamental and the political meaning of sanctuary is fundamental. These things are too important for their implementation to be subject to misinterpretations stemming from linguistic usage. I believe that Costa Rica's tradition demands that I, as its leader, adopt the position which I have adopted.

[Question] Is there any cooperation between Spain and Costa Rica with regard to humanitarian action for the refugees? Do you believe that Madrid could play a major role in political and diplomatic action with respect to Fidel Castro's government to achieve the refugees' departure?

[Answer] The Spanish government's position has been quite clear from the outset. It has offered to receive 500 Cubans and has already taken a large number of Cubans from Havana. This is a very special case, because they flew directly from Havana to Madrid without having to pass through Costa kica, and obviously we made no effort to make those Cubans pass through here because the basic aim is for them to leave Cuba.

As for the diplomatic role which the Spanish government could play, I would say that it is great, inasmuch as its position as government of the mother—country obliges us all to heed it when decisions have to be made. I am indeed pleased to be able to state now that Costa Rica's attitude has been the same as Spain's, and this draws us closer together in action for the common good, in what can be described as a leading role, inspired basically by humanitarian feelings.

[Question] If the 10,300 Cubans come to Costa Rica, do you expect most of them to leave for other American and European countries--especially the 3,000 and more who have not been offered a reception by any country?

[Answer] I am sure that the humanitarian approach demanded by the very existence of this group of refugees will insure that more than enough countries make specific offers to receive them. In this connection I do not share the fear that some people may harbor with regard to the numerical or quantitative aspect, because the fundamental consideration in dealing with human beings is the spiritual aspect.

[Question] Perhaps time is working against the Cuban exiles. Are you afraid that, unless they leave relatively soon, not all of them will manage to leave?

[Answer] The basic problem must be resolved quickly. I assume that the Guban government does want these people to leave, and for this very reason I have constantly tried to maintain a very passive stance with regard to exerting pressure—if it can be so termed—on the Cuban government. We have no diplomatic relations with Havana—only consular missions—which renders direct contacts difficult, but from the viewpoint of political action we would be willing to talk with the Guban government, as we stated yesterday morning, because in this case, irrespective of political issues, the main concern is of a humanitarian nature, and it is this which governed our decision to help these refugees leave their country.

[Question] But what specifically is the nature of the dialog with Cuba, since your consul there is back in San Jose and it seems that Costa Rica is about to enter international negotiations with Cuba?

[Answer] We began these negotiations yesterday morning, and they are taking place via the Cuban consulate in San Jose, since it maintains a complete staff. Yesterday morning I presented a new stance to the Havana government, asking it to state under what conditions we could secure the refugees' release; if they respond with humanitarian conditions, then passenger transport will begin right away.

[LD051413] [Question] Mr President, up to what level would you be willing to conduct these negotiations with the Guban government; up to a meeting with Fidel Castro?

[Answer] ...until the 10,800 [as published] human beings are released.

[Question] Will you ask Fidel Castro to 40 this?

[Answer] I have already done so; I have urged the Havana government to allow the refugees to leave.

[Question] But was this conversation familiar or formal, by telephone or at a personal meeting?

[Answer] Listen, I would make any reasonable effort to secure those people's release.

[Question] Mr President, why have you, who are so active in support of the Sandinista movement which overthrew Somoza, now adopted such a vigorous stance in the case of the Cuban refugees, which has led you to the brink of a rupture with Havana?

[Answer] In fact the most important consideration for us is human beings and the consequences they suffer because of governments or regimes which in one way or another bring about actions which affect people's normal existence. Costa Rica has always held very specific and very firm stances on people's behalf, and I am pleased to adopt them. As far as I am concerned, leftwing or rightwing labels are worthless when they harm people.

[Question] Prime Minister Susrez should have come to Costa Rica last September, but had to postpone his visit. What is the state of relations between Madrid and San Jose?

[Answer] Costa Rica and Spain have very important relations, because they are positive not only with regard to the present situation but also with regard to their traditional and wholehearted nature. We regard Spain as our motherland and are very happy with our relations with it. We were greatly honored, together with other countries, to put forward the King of Spain as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. We have basically practical relations with Spain in the field of technological aid, finance, culture, art and everything which brings peoples closer together, as for our political relations, they are perfect.

CUBAN REFUGEES RESULT OF CLOSED SOCIETY

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 9 Apr 80 p 14A

[Editorial: "The Exodus From Cuba"]

[Text] The problem of closed societies—and the communist countries are closed societies to a very great degree—is that they cannot permit themselves to loosen their iron vigilance when people want their freedom immediately. This phenomenon, which is such a large dead weight on contemporary communism, even has a monument: the Berlin Wall, which contrary to the historic Chinese Wall was not raised to prevent invasions but just the opposite, to prevent escapes.

Orthodox Soviet communists, who are the most affected by escapes in search of freedom, have not ever been able to explain, with good reasons, this "strange" conduct from a few people who in spite of living "officially" in proletarian paradises do everything possible to emigrate to different countries, where "happiness" is not imposed on them from above in a despotic state and system that drives them out of their minds.

Now it is Cuba, according to the progressive promoters of the revolution destined to be the "socialist showcase of America," which is experiencing this collective display of an indomitable desire for freedom with the characteristics of an exodus. Since Fidel Castro, who has successfully evolved from stubborness to cynicism, does not have available any means of rationally explaining the mutinous conduct of his subjects in the embassies accredited to his country, particularly the Peruvian Embassy, the insults those poor people, who are his compatriots and just as Cuban as he is, saying that they constitute the scum of Cuba.

That is an old familiar story. There is nothing original about it. It is an argument which if it were not so stupid could be called childish. If the exodus is going on when the dictator decides to withdraw the police guard from around the Peruvian Embassy and after his declaration on the Cuban economy and society has been divulged in all the newspapers of the world, full of bitterness and frustration, two decades after the revolution, there will not be anyone in the world, no matter how foolish he may

be, who does not see it as the most natural thing in the world that the Cuban people should engage in that desperate stampeds to escape from the horrors of a miserable system handed over to the service of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

Castro has not been able to organize his revolution or his economy, or establish the dignity of his people after having freed it from the Batista dictatorship. Cuba continues to be hungry, rationed, regimented, living on Soviet charity—which charges a high price for its generosity—with a production which remains stagnant, going deeper and deeper into debt to Moscow, alienating its people to the point where they go serve as mercenaries for the world's new imperialists.

Who is not going to flee under these circumstances? Scum? What scum? The scum who escape to an embassy in their desperation or the scum who go off to the dark continent to offer their life for Cuba's masters?

#### HUBER MATOS RETURNS TO ATTEND MEETING ON REFUGEES

PA062340 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1843 GMT 6 May 80

[Excerpt] San Jose, 6 May (ACAN-EFE)--Cuban commander Huber Matos, who entered Costa Rica as a refugee last October after serving a 20-year jail sentence, has returned here following several months of absence.

Matos had been on a tour through the United States and several Latin American countries to publicize the situation of the political prisoners in Cuba.

Matos, who was Fidel Castro Ruz' former comrade-in-arms and a close aide during the armed process, was charged with betraying the revolution in 1959 and sentenced to a 20-year imprisonment which he finished serving last October.

On returning to San Jose, Matos plans to participate in a meeting of representatives from 25 Latin American and European countries to be held here Thursday to discuss the case of the Cuban dissidents who are sheltered in the Peruvian embassy in Havana, those who are leaving for the United States by sea, and those who entered en masse into the U.S. interests office in Havana.

Matos stated: "I have been in a Cuban jail and I am committed to struggle for the release of all the political prisoners."

"If Fidel has made people believe that anyone can leave Cuba the political prisoners have proven that this is not true," Matos said.

He also stated that the massive departure of Cubans during the last 3 weeks to Costa Rica and the United States means that his fellow citizens "are losing their fear of Castro's system of terror."

Matos said that among the Cubans who are entering the United States there is a considerable number of infiltrators sent by Cuba's securi'y organizations, as well as other common criminals, but the majority are people who really need freedom and share the philosophy of free men.

#### LIBERAL-LEANING GROUP WARNS OF SOCIAL UNREST

PAO71959 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1811 GHT 5 May 80

[Text] San Jose, 5 May (ACAN-EFE)--Costa Rica's National Economic Development Association [ANFE] has warned about the dangers of social unrest here with characteristics similar to that affecting other Central American countries. The ANFE groups liberal-leaning businessmen and intellectuals.

ANPE states that "although Costa Rica has been an exception to the convulsed Central American scene there is no guarantee that this will continue. This is so not only because our geographical proximity and Costa Rican foreign policy mistakes can bring us closer to danger, but because in essence our immunity is not guaranteed."

ANFE also states that "social unrest is always the result of political, cultural and economic problems, and these undoubtedly exist in Costa Rica."

It also adds that "some of these problems are less serious than those of the neighboring countries, but perhaps others are not very different. Therefore, they should not slip by unnoticed and should lead us to reflection, analysis and caution."

Finally, ANFE makes an appeal to the rulers, political parties, community organizations, labor unions, associations, employer organizations, professional associations and to the citizenship in general to reflect on this.

#### SOVIET DESIGNS IN CENTRAL AMERICA DISCUSSED

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 7 Apr 80 p 14A

[Editorial: "Hidden Designs in Central American Subversion"]

[Text] In the convulsion that Central America is now going through there may be hidden interests of great powers going beyond the merely regional framework. A U. S. strategic report has pointed out the possibility of this hypothesis as it declares that "the vast petroleum deposits of Mexico constitute the final objective of the Cuban-Soviet offensive in the area."

However strange the theory may appear as far as pointing out the aforementioned concrete objective is concerned, the fact cannot be passed over that there are abundant precedents to demonstrate that subversion in this continent during the two decades just past has been nourished by Soviet interference through Cuba as an intermediary.

The Soviet offensive to penetrate Latin America has had varied objectives in the last 20 years extending from south of the Rio Grande in Mexico all the way to Tierra del Fuego in Argentina. As soon as the Marxist Cuban regime appeared on the scene, guerrilla cells also appeared or took on new life in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. In this last country, in action in the jungle, "Che" Guevara fell, a companion in arms of Fidel Castro. Guatemala, Colombia and Venezuela experienced at about the same time Cuban intervention in internal subversive movements in their countries.

It would not be unthinkable for that reason that the strategic objectives of Cuba and the Soviet Union should now point to Central America and the Caribbean as a zone of competition with the United States, which in its condition as the hegemonic power is being relegated more and more to a defensive position.

Strengthening the Russian presence in this region by using the Cuban regime as an instrument may fill the double aim of raising a wall of Soviet competition against the United States while also reaping the economic and commercial benefits which may be derived from the proximity to sources of petroleum supply like those of Mexico or Venezuela. The battle which Russia is carrying on for the same objective on the other side of the world—the region of the Persian Gulf—may be tied in with the battle which it is fanning with greater and greater force in this hemisphere.

Central America and the Caribbean may be targets with which Russia hopes to strengthen its begannony. Dotted in recent times with small island-states, the Caribbean can represent a comfortable scenario for a power to master in order to play a role planned beforehand.

Under the principle of "one country, one vote" in international law, the vote of Grenada or Jamaica (tilting toward the Soviet orbit) count the same in the United Nations as that of a country with hundreds of millions of inhabitants.

Furthermore, it is infinitely easier to win over those little countries. This is something that Russia has not ignored. To see Nicaragua, El Salvador or Guatemala on fire leads one not only to think of the necessity of a safeguard against fires, but also of the "criminal hand" that may be setting them.

#### NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION SEEN AT CROSSROADS

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 24 Apr 80 p 14A

[Editorial: "Nicaraguan Revolution Is at the Crossroads"]

[Text] The Nicaraguan insurrection against the Somosa dynasty was supported enthusiastically from the beginning not only by the democratic sectors of the hemisphere, but also by their governments, with the exception of a few military dictatorships. Their willingness to stand behind this liberation movement is based on two great premises: one, the repressive, despotic, corrupt and entrenched nature of the Somosa regime, which degraded the people of Micaragua; the other, the nature of the insurrection itself, which united the entire population on all levels, including all classes and types of people, with a similar spirit of sacrifice and struggle. The entire nation called out for liberty, justice and progress, in that order.

The essence of Zomozism was not just injustice. To a greater or lesser extent injustice prevails in all countries of the world. The essence of Zomozism was brutal repression, torture, the persecution of dissidents or non-conformists, the absolute lack of freedom, intolerance towards Nicaraguans who opposed or criticised the regime, persecution of the press and of the independent political parties, and, in short, the elimination of everything that in any way threatened the established order.

The makeup of the National Reconstruction Junta responded to that set of historical, political and human conditions. Its pluralist structure was the result of the pluralist nature of the insurrection, which included the churches, the business sector, intellectuals, workers, peasants, professionals, etc. Sandinism, originally consisting of a small Marxist and sectarian group, ultimately saw an opportunity, given the intensification of the regime's despotism and its crimes, as well as the spontaneous mobilization of the main sectors of the population, to participate in a broad-based popular struggle in the front ranks.

The principles of Sandinian gradually became a national ideology, a pluralist banner of liberation. The initial nucleus of the group, suckled on Cuban and pro-Soviet Marxism, was suppressed by the general uprising of a people whose greatest aspiration was to win the freedom they had never known and the right to determine their own destiny, without rightist or leftist domination, without repression, persecution or official impositions.

The Andean nations, Panama, Gosta Rica and Mexico lent their wholehearted support to the insurrection in the form of tremendous logistical support, as well as the condennation of the Somoza regime. Apparently, their backing stemmed from that image of the Nicaraguan political problem as a backdrop, a frame of reference. Furthermore, the Sandinists won more favor when the few original members who were left, upon taking important positions in the new government, enthusiastically endorsed this democratic, pluralist and libertarian orientation for the revolution after the fall of Somoza.

However, within less than a year of that inter-American victory, which was not just a victory for Nicaragua, ominous signs of deviation from the announced objectives of the revolution began to appear. The daily LA PRENSA of Managua, a heroic victim of persecution and brutality (its editor, Dr Pedro Joaquin Chamorro was viciously murdered by the regime's henchmen on 10 January 1978) is now beginning to feel the same repression under the new government.

The official unions, which have become a tool of the most sectarian Sandinists in power, are now astonishing America and the rest of the world by reenacting the most sinister actions of the semi-secular Somosa dictatorship. The owners of LA PRENSA can no longer change their editor in order to give the newspaper the editorial position and critical and independent news coverage it has always provided, because the union (evidently with official approval) will not allow it.

The politicisation of the unions and their connection with the government reflect a serious change in the direction of the revolution.

These and other reasons undoubtedly led to the first resignation from the National Reconstruction Junta, that of Violeta Barrios de Chanorro. She was a heroine in the struggle against the Somosas, an exemplary participant in a far-reaching, progressive social and political transformation. If Somosa-like police action and politics reappear on the scene, now couched in pro-union slogans and Marxist socialism, the revolution will have been betrayed.

Along with this disturbing indication of political sectarianism, there has been change in the makeup of the Government Council in mid-stride; it has reneged on the formal commitments it made under the San Jose Pact, which established the National Reconstruction Government in exile. In the new Government Council, the most radical and sectarian faction of Sandinism has an absolute majority. The obvious goal is to install a single, hegemonistic, repressive party such as those that dominate totalitarian Communist countries. If such is the case, democracy and freedom in Nicaragua, which claimed so much generous blood on the battlefields, will reign but a few days more. The Cuba syndrome is leaving its sinister mark on this policy.

And now there has been a second conspicuous resignation from the highest circle of the Government Junta: that of Alfonso Robelo, an active and important participant in the popular insurrection. Robelo has criticised the

revolution for straying from its path, claiming that the objectives and conditions of the pluralist pact that formed the Junta have been violated. The Nicaraguan revolution has now reached a crossroads pressturely, and its democratic orientation is being threatened.

The Sandinist leaders must reconsider their policy and refuse to take over a revolution that was the work of everyone, not just them; refuse to use it to their own advantage for another 40 years of despotism. Only if they do this will it be possible to redeem one of the most glorious historic achievements in America, an effort that won the generous and selfless support of the free nations and governments of the hemisphere.

It is impossible for the team that is now governing Nicaragua to defraud its people and the brother nations of America in less than a year's time, trusting their fate to the interests of a remote foreign power.

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#### HONDURAN MOVE TO DEMOCRACY HAILED

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 25 Apr 80 p 14A

[Editorial: "Honduras on a Democratic Path"]

[Text] In peaceful elections, without the usual accusations of fraud, the Hondurans last Sunday laid the groundwork for the establishment of a constitutional government after 16 years of de facto military governments.

It does not natter that the election of a president was not the immediate objective of the elections. First a National Constitutional Assembly must convene in Tegucigalpa. The main thing is that they are on the right track.

The return of democratic procedures in Honduras introduces an element of relief in the tense situation of Gentral America. By giving the Liberal Party (a moderately reformist party) a majority, the voters of that Gentral American nation have resumed the process that was interrupted in 1963 when the constitutional president, Ramon Villeda Horales, was overthrown.

Honduras has been fortunate enough to avoid the violence that is raging in neighboring Guatemala and El Salvador.

That does not mean, however, that there are no problems in this country. There have been plenty. Poverty, lack of housing, deficient education and health are tremendous problems, while for many years the peasants have been clamoring for a better distribution of agricultural land ownership.

Honduras has barely been able to extricate itself from this fix thanks to a determined effort to lay the foundation for the solution to these problems within a legal and democratic framework. It is hoped, therefore, that the preliminary work done on 20 April will sustain a free process of change.

The Honduran people, and the historic circumstances in Central America, would not be able to bear a new frustration of denocracy in Honduras or in any other country in the region these nations belong to. A new coup in Honduras, where there have been several in the past 15 years, could have disastrous and irreparable consequences.

The imperative at the moment is for the Bonduran armed forces to fulfill their oft-repeated promise to stop exercising power (whenever the new democratic processes require it) and give way to the mandate of the voters. The direct election of the president at some point will be preferable to an indirect election by the National Assembly, in order to ensure the full consolidation of democracy.

It is encouraging to note that the possibility of a military boycott is now unlikely, judging by the words of Gen Policarpo Pas Garcia, who is considered by various political forces in Honduras to be a moderating element.

Honduras seems to understand fully the importance of this crucial moment in national and regional history, which is also reflected in the willingness of the losing party to form a "constructive opposition." This country needs to devote all its energy to realizing the "renewal of liberty" that it desires.

#### FINANCIAL REFORMS USED TO FIGHT INFLATION

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 29, 30, 31 Mar 80

[Article by Lidiette Brenes de Charpentier: "Inflation Drives Interest Rates Up"]

[29 Mar 80, p 6A]

(Text) The high interest rates applied to loans and deposits under Costa Rica's financial system are a result of the high level of inflation that marks the national and international economy.

These rates are also a tool to fight inflationary problems since they reduce requests for loans and the excessive pressure on demand for goods, therefore preventing price increases and curtailing imports.

However, such a policy will only contribute to the task of checking inflation and of securing economic stability if it is a generalized policy and if it also implements other fiscal, monetary and credit measures of a complementary nature and consistent with the types of interest.

Otherwise, the policy runs the risk of cancelling itself out and even intensifying the problems which it is intended to fight.

#### Support

With that purpose in mind, a number of measures on monetary and credit policies were incorporated into the Central Bank's program for the current year.

One of their aims was to narrow the gap between the central government's expenditures and ordinary receipts, a problem which could be solved by imposing higher taxes and restricting, as much as possible, the public sector's expenditures.

The monetary program will try to reduce the aggregated demand which means cutting down on consumption, investments and national expenditure. This

will be achieved through an expansion of credit consistent with the overall production of goods and services.

Falling into step with national and international circumstances, the bank of issue changed its method of calculating interest rates twice in 15 months, claiming on both occasions that it was seeking a more rational plan, one more attuned to the economic and social needs of the country.

#### Imbalance

Between 1959 and October 1978, the interest rate policy followed in Costa Rica was uniform and in line with the pattern of economic development followed by many Latin American countries.

During that period, the characteristics of the government policy on interest rates were its rigidity (the rates remained almost unchanged during that long period), its low level (far below the rate of inflation), and its inconsistency (official institutions offered different types of rates for the same sectors). Compared to this, the other variants intervening in the economic process rose in absolute and relative terms, some of them by considerable amounts.

For instance, the Central Bank's statement for 1978 reports that the gross domestic product (GDP)—the value of all goods and services produced by the country in a year—went up at a yearly rate of 6.4 percent while the total amount of credit increased by 25.4 percent.

These figures represent the average registered between 1970 and 1977.

During that same period, and as regards the external sector, the current account deficit—resulting from transactions involving goods, services and transfer payments—rose at an average yearly rate of 17.3 percent.

In the fiscal sphere, ordinary receipts showed an average growth of 21.7 percent a year while overall expenditures went up by 24.8 percent. This is why the government financial deficit reached an average rate of 41.3 percent a year. The wholesale price index went up by 14.7 percent a year while the retail price index showed an average increase of 11.8 percent per year.

#### Reform

The Central Bank explained that in addition to the economic problems previously indicated, the national financial system was subjected to some norms which had an unfavorable effect not only on the process of acquiring and granting resources, but also on the autonomy and latitude of choice which the national banking system had in credit operations.

This is why on 16 October 1978 the board of directors of the bank of issue decided, by Resolution No 3371-78, to change the general credit regulations issued in accordance with the powers conferred by Bill No 1552 of 23 April 1953.

It was stated that this measure would mark the beginning of a financial reform inspired, at least in part, by the neoliberal economic model. This was a move away from the ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America] formula which had influenced the economic policies of many Latin American countries during the last 20 years. In Costa Rica, this formula had been basically supported by the National Liberation Party governments.

The ECLA, created in 1948, had established a pattern of development (the ECLA pattern) which intended to diversify production to make the economies less vulnerable to the fluctuations of foreign trade and to achieve a more equitable distribution of income. Industrialisation was its driving force.

The chief exponents of the neoliberal model consider that interest rates play an important role in the economic growth of the less developed countries, particularly in countries affected by what they call financial repression and by prolonged periods of inflation.

The expression "financial repression" is explained as a situation where the depositor of savings is not adequately rewarded for his act of saving and, therefore, finds no encouragement to do so.

The linchpin of the neoliberal theory are interest rates which, in a rational and sound financial system, should be positive ones (higher than the rate of inflation) but which have reached the stage where they are negative or reduced to nil precisely due to the drop in the value of money caused by inflation.

In the financial sector, the interest rate plays a dual role. On the one hand, it represents the price which the borrower must pay for a loan. In the case of productive activities, the borrower will be willing to go into debt if the yield obtained from using somebody else's funds is higher than the cost of securing these funds, that is to say, higher than the interest rate.

On the other hand, the interest rate is also the payment which the depositor receives for keeping his funds in financial institutions.

From this viewpoint, it is, to some extent, the reward given to the depositor because he refrains from spending now in the hope of being able to spend more in the future since he will get back his savings plus interest.

# Functions

Acknowledgement of this double function played by the interest rate is what makes it an important mechanism in making depositors provide the funds required by businessmen to carry out their productive activities.

There are, of course, other ways of supplying the businessman with these resources, such as securing foreign funds or simply issuing money. But these mechanisms have negative effects on prices and on the level of the international monetary reserves.

Therefore, it is a generally accepted fact that the soundest method for financing economic activities consists in putting greater efforts into attracting domestic savings.

Although the original purpose of the Central Bank was to free interest rates for all or for most of the productive sectors, a system of subsidized rates—lower than the rate of inflation—was maintained in the sectors of agriculture, stockbreeding, industry, poultry farming, construction and others due to pressure from the executive branch.

This differentiation was justified on the basis that it would only apply to the 1979 agricultural season. But the system of subsidies will be continued in 1980 also due to pressure from the executive branch. And this is precisely one of the weaknesses of the plan.

[30 Mar 80, p 6A]

[Text] The so-called "financial reform" initiated in October 1978 by which the government intended to set aside the model of economic development that Costa Rica had followed for two decades and then apply some of the principles of the neoliberal theory, was centered on the interest rates.

But in the view of several national and foreign economists, this instrument was handled ineffectively and too cautiously.

Without a clear method for eliminating "financial repression"—a situation where the depositor of savings is not sufficiently rewarded for his efforts to save—the Central Bank changed twice, over a period of 15 months, its criteria for assessing interest rates, claiming each time that the new system was more logical and more in tune with the economic and social needs of the country.

This has created a whole range of interest rates which commercial banks can charge or pay depending on the type of activity.

#### Variation

Initially, Resolution No 3371-78, which modified interest rates, had established two levels of active rates charged by banks on loans issued by their commercial departments.

At one of these levels, loans had an interest rate of 8 percent, which was the subsidized rate applied in previous periods to activities that the government wanted to promote and which were even entitled by law to receive such treatment.

This group included economic activities of great social significance such as those carried on by small farmers, stockbreeders, businessmen and craftsmen, among others.

This group was highly selective since the type of interest rate applied to it is considered to be fully subsidized (much lower than the rate paid to depositors).

The other level of interest rate was allowed to fluctuate and was linked to the London 6-month interbanking rate quotation known under the initials of LIBOR.

A basic rate was fixed on a weekly basis and one-half of a percentage point (rounded up to the nearest tenth) was added to the LIBOR quotation of the previous Friday at midday as supplied by the Midlands Bank of London.

#### Another Level

Following this system, the country's second level of interest rates was set with a margin of 3 percentage points above the basic rate. According to Luis Carlos Mora, an expert from the Central Bank, the interest rate level fluctuated between 14 and 17.1 percent since the LIBOR rate had fluctuated between 10.5 and 13.6 during the previous year.

Almost all the activities included in this group were activities which under previous systems had fallen under the category of "preferential" or "reproductive" activities such as agriculture, stockbreeding, manufacturing, mining, electricity supply, building enterprises and others.

Three months after the reform was launched, some adjustments were made and a third level of interest rates was established for some of the agricultural and stockbreeding activities, mainly those involving raising livestock to produce meat or milk and livestock intended for both these purposes.

The change was introduced on a temporary basis since it was agreed that it would only apply for a year. By 1980, these types of loans would revert to interest rates fluctuating three points above the basic rate.

But at the beginning of this year it was decided to continue subsidizing some of these activities.

Other loans are supplied by financial institutions where there are no restrictions, which means that these intermediaries are completely free to set their interest rates as they want.

# Savings

Following the "financial reform," sight savings deposits in colones and in foreign currency were earning a yearly interest rate of 8 percent erm savings deposits had four different rate levels depending on that, term of maturity.

Current account deposits do not earn any interest and are only held by the commercial departments of state banks. Term deposits of national currency are held by public financial institutions at freely established rates.

Private financial institutions are also allowed to issue a type of interestbearing certificate called "certificate of investment" which is not legally considered as a deposit but has all the characteristic of one.

The other important interest-bearing certificates in the country are the treasury bonds, most of which are in fact sight deposits since they are sold at the Central Bank's offices with the understanding that they will be purchased back. These bonds are attractive because the interest earned on them is tax free.

Recently, the executive branch decided to increase the yield of these bonds applying different rates according to the term of maturity.

# Changes

At the end of January of this year, the Central Bank abandoned the system of calculating interest rates with the LIBOR fluctuations as their only indicator.

This step was taken on the advice of Dr Vicente Galbis, an expert from the IMF, although since October 1979 two Central Bank officials, Carlos Hernandez and Luis Carlos Mora, had been strongly advising that some internal variable factors be taken into consideration.

After analyzing the financial reform, Dr Galbis found that it was chiefly centered on the interest rates policy.

At that time, the expert pointed out that there was a big contradiction in what the Costa Rican economists were doing because they were allowing much of their credit to be subsidized while the neoliberal theory, to which they claimed to adhere, establishes that prices and even the cost of money should be fixed in terms of supply and demand alone.

One third of all loans are subsidized. On the previous year, the amount of credit granted by the national banking system totalled 7.299 billion colones.

Galbis found that being a nationalized system, the national banking system does not try to obtain maximum profit, as is essential if the liberalization is to operate fully.

Finally, the expert said that the national economy has not fulfilled so far the conditions required for liberalization and, therefore, he advised the establishment of a discretionary system of interest rates.

## Pactors

Having listened to Galbis's remarks, the bank of issue is taking into account the interest rates for 6-month term deposits in the banks of Panama and New York.

An additional criteria is the level of domestic inflation reflected in the fluctuations of the wholesale price index calculated by the Central Bank.

The acceleration of inflation must also be calculated and this is done by taking the percentage increase of the price index for a semester and comparing it with the previous year's figure.

The final parameter, which in the view of several experts will influence decisions more strongly, is the domestic supply and demand for money where fluctuations will be controlled with the help of weekly reports prepared by the national banking system.

The basic rate calculated by this method is 16.5 percent and it has been in force since 1 February.

## Difference

By this method, and while the rate quoted by LIBOR on 28 March was 19.3 percent, term deposits (6 to 9 months) were earning 18.5 percent, that is to say three points less. Deposits with longer terms of maturity were earning a basic rate minus one or two points depending on the term of maturity.

Loans for preferential activities continue to receive subsidized rates. Financing institutions charge an interest rate of 22 percent for loans to finance stockbreeding and agriculture, industry, construction and housing enterprises.

Loans requested by individuals and by the trade sector are charged 24 percent a year which is almost a quarter of the amount borrowed.

[31 Mar 80, p 6A]

The financial reform initiated 18 months ago by the government, and based on a liberalization of interest rates, did not achieve the intended objective of stimulating the growth of private savings and helping the national economy to become adjusted to the changing conditions of the domestic market.

As noted by several banking experts, the financial repression persists because we are still not paying the real cost of capital and we are operating with subsidized rates in many of the credit resources of the national banking system.

Furthermore, savings are being channeled into financing institutions offering the attraction of higher interest rates. As a result these institutions are charging higher interest rates on their loans and the private sector must accept these rates when the commercial banks run out of money to lend.

Since liberalization has made money more expensive, bank borrowers prefer to keep their borrowed money and fall behind in their obligations because they know that they will not find easily obtainable or cheap loans.

Finally, it had been pointed out that the expectations of the Central Bank's monetary and lending program for the current year are not in agreement with the real situation created by interest rates as regards current accounts and savings deposits.

### It Continues

The reform or financial modernization was initiated in October 1978 when the Central Bank abandoned the method used for many years to calculate interest rates.

From a system of fixed rates, which were changed from time to time, they went on to use the London interbanking rate (LIBOR) as their only indicator.

Then, in January of this year, the system was changed and other criteria—such as the domestic rate of inflation, the acceleration of inflation, the rate applied to 6-month term deposits in the Panama and New York markets and the supply and demand for domestic resources—were taken into account. These criteria have not been strictly applied. Some economists claim that if this had been done the acceleration of inflation registered during the last few months would have driven up interest rates to about 24 percent.

On the other hand, the interest rates in Panama and New York, which are the lowest level set by the Central Bank according to this new method, have already gone beyond 17 percent. Our basic rate is 16.5 percent.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the board of directors of the bank of issue sets interest rates at its own discretion.

These changes and variations notwithstanding, the financial reform implemented in Costa Rica has resulted in a more realistic assessment of the cost of money and, consequently, most of the resources absorbed by the national financial system have become more costly.

In spite of this, and based on calculations made by the Central Bank's economists, there has been no abnormal trend in the money supply, the nominal volume of which has kept growing at the same percentage rate even if in real terms there has been an obvious drop in volume.

In a study entitled "Costa Rica's Recent Experience in Fixing Interest Rates," Luis Carlos Mora, an official of the bank of issue, stated that the aforementioned facts do not mean that the financial saving process will not be affected by changes in the interest rates, but rather that the interest rate has not reached the level which the market would have set had it been allowed to operate freely.

Another intervening factor is that savings depositors consider that the rate is low and they are inclined to transform their resources into foreign currency.

## Divided

The financial repression continues if we take into account the fact that interest rates paid in foreign markets are higher than the domestic basic rate of 16.5 percent.

In New York, for instance, the rate for 6-month term deposits is in the region of 17 percent and the LIBOR rate for similar term deposits is 19.3 percent. In our country, the current rate for this type of deposits is 18.5 percent.

This means that the savings depositor is not even adequately rewarded for the act of saving.

The incomplete nature of the reform is noticeable in both the active and passive rates. For example, loans to farmers and small businessmen continued to be partially subsidized and in addition to this, fixed rates were set.

Which means that the subsidies will increase or decrease in real terms depending on whether inflation climbs or drops, thus making the liberalizing measures inconsistent and aggravating the distortion which they intended to correct.

Although the authorities who had the task of implementing the liberalization looked for a formula to avoid this conflict—for a way of giving some other type of assistance to counteract the cost of credit or a way of paying higher support prices—they were unable to do so for two reasons.

First, because such a thing cannot be done from a legal viewpoint and, second, because of pressures from the executive branch which "wanted to help the productive sectors at any cost."

It was even noted that during discussions with the highest authorities of the executive branch held on this subject, there was mention of a "psychological factor" which would affect farmers if they did not get subsidized loans even if they were offered a better support price. That was the reason for making a decision which goes against the liberal economy.

### Alternative

With the reform of October 1978, the active rate--which is the rate charged by banks for some types of loans--climbed drastically with the result that many debtors have chosen not to renew their obligations because this would mean facing considerably higher costs.

With this in mind, many clients are now using the money which should have gone into the repayment of their debts and an increasing number of loan repayments are being delayed. This is affecting the normal flow of recoveries of debts and, therefore, the planned availability of bank funds.

According to banking experts, this reaction takes place mostly in operations involving the agricultural and stockbreeding sectors where other problems are used, often with justification, as an argument to bring pressure into the renegotiation of debts as far as their term is concerned, since there is a provision which stipulates that in the case of circumstances beyond one's control the transaction can be renegotiated at the original interest rate.

## Inconsistency

Some economists consider that the targets set for the current year by the monetary and credit program of the Central Bank as far as current accounts and savings deposits are concerned are not in consonance with the forecast of what the real situation of these deposits is going to be.

Their argument is based on the fact that in 1979 term deposits increased by 27 percent in the national banking system and, therefore, one cannot expect these deposits to be cut by half to meet the set target of 15.3 percent when the interest rate stands at a more attractive level than last year's.

According to the figures presented in the program, what the Central Bank wants to achieve is for commercial banks to attract a large volume of funds into their current accounts where no interest is paid and a small volume of funds into term deposits where the interest is very high.

Despite these flaws and obstacles still to be overcome, some of the country's economists agree in saying that the experience must be assessed as a move in the right direction, but that changes and additional measures are required in the economy.

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# TEACHERS DENY RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION CRISIS

PA061721 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 1200 CMT 6 May 80

[Text] The High School Teachers Association [APSE] denies that the teachers have started the current education crisis as Education Minister Maria Eugenia Dengo de Vargas has said. According to APSE secretary Carmen Solay Mora, it was Minister Dengo de Vargas who started it all when she accused teachers of acting illegally by calling a strike. It was Minister Dengo de Vargas who accused high school teachers of rebellion just because they were demanding respect for their rights, Solay Mora added. However, the APSE secretary added, when unilateral actions are taken against teachers, such as cancelling their contracts without notice or reducing their teaching hours, no one says anything; this is not seen as being illegal, we're supposed to take it without complaining. According to the APSE secretary, the quality of education has always been a main concern of teachers. She was referring to Minister Dengo de Vargas' criticism of the poor quality of teaching among high school students. The APSE secretary accused the education ministry of failing to provide adequate working conditions for teachers, not to mention the lack of supplies and other equipment.

The APSE secretary finally said that the accusations by the education ministry that the high school teachers are unfit and deficient are just a way to pass their responsibility for the existing situation onto others.

#### BRIEFS

ASSASSINATION PLOT SUSPECTS EXONERATED -- San Jose, 6 May (ACAN-EFE) -- A criminal investigations court has ruled that there are no sufficient grounds for a case against four people suspected by the police of being involved in an alleged attempt against the life of Costs Rican President Rodrigo Carazo Odio. The Criminal Investigations Bureau (DIC) had charged that two Nicaraguans, one Chilean and one Costa Rican were the organizers of an attempt against the life of President Carazo. The court ruled that the evidence provided by the investigations police of the Public Security Ministry was not sufficient for an indictment in the case. Alfonso "Turco" Ayub, the Costa Rican who was supposedly involved in the plot, had denied since the beginning of the case that there was no such plan. The Judicial Investigations Organization (OIJ) subsequently stated that the alleged sticks of dynamite to be used in the attempt were only road flares. Through the attorney general's office, the Costa Rican Government had accused the four people of illicit association and possession of explosives since due to the difficulty in proving a crime that had not yet been committed it could not institute proceedings on the charge of an alleged attempt on the president's life as the police attribute to the four men. [Text] [PA071819 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1845 GMT 6 May 80]

CARAZO, CUBAN EXILE MEET--Cuban Commander Huber Matos yesterday met with Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo. Matos returned to Costa Rica on Monday after visits to the United States and several Latin American countries during the past months. The meeting was also attended by Foreign Minister Rafael Angel Calderon and Deputy Minister of the Presidency Jorge Poveda. They discussed subjects related to tomorrow's international meeting on the Cuban refugees. Huber Matos arrived as an exile in Costa Rica in October 1979 after serving a 20-year prison sentence in Cuba where he was accused of betraying the revolution in October 1959. [Text] [PA071621 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 1200 GMT 7 May 80]

## SPANISH AMBASSADOR REPLIES TO 'GRANMA' INSINUATIONS

Havana GRANNA in Spanish 12 Apr 80 p 3

[Letter to the editor of GRANMA from Spanish Ambassador Manuel Ortiz Sanchez, dated 11 April 1980]

(Text) Mr Jorge Enrique Mendoza Editor, GRANMA Jose Marti Revolution Square Havana

Dear Editor:

On the first page of the edition of your newspaper for today, Friday, 11 April, Spain is referred to in the following paragraph:

"These stratagems coincide with the provocations against Cuba carried out by the Peruvian and Venezuelan Embassies and the sinister Andean Pact meeting that was just held in Lima, at which a Spanish secretary of foreign relations was definitely present. No one could understand what a distinguished representative of the "mother country" was doing there when there have been no Spanish viceroyalties in this hemisphere for some time, but rather Yankee viceroyalties."

Because the paragraph contains a number of questions that your newspaper does not answer, I am asking you to publish the following explanations so that your readers will be properly informed:

1. The presence of a representative of Spain at Andean Pact meetings is easily explained: The member nations of the Andean Group agreed to invite the Spanish Government to participate as an observer at the meeting of Andean foreign ministers. The invitation was formally set forth in the "Declaration of Quito" of 11 August 1979 and signed by the presidents of Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Venezuela and by the president of the Spanish Government. The foreign ministers of Bolivia and Peru, who were at the meeting, expressed, in the names of the governments they represent, their full agreement with the contents and scope of that declaration.

Spain's presence at Andean Group meetings is, then, official and permanent. Since that time, Spain has attended all of the Group's meetings as an observer. It is the Spanish Government's ongoing intention to contribute to the safeguarding of relations among all the countries in the Ibero-American community, overcoming and ameliorating any difference that may exist. Cuba and Spain have historically provided examples of this attitude.

2. Solely for informative purposes I also want to explain to you that the representative of Spain your newspaper referred to as "a secretary of foreign relations" is the Spanish Government's secretary of state for foreign affairs, Carlos Robles Piquer. Mr Robles Piquer is well known to your readers, moreover, because he led the Spanish delegation which attended, as a quest, the Sixth Summit Meeting of Nonalined Countries in Havana.

Hoping that this information may answer your questions and those of your readers, I remain yours sincerely,

Manuel Ortiz Sanchez.

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## ARTICLES SHOW DISCOURAGING ASPECTS OF FUTURE FOR REPUGEES

'Brutal Apprenticeship' Foreseen

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 14 Apr 80 p 6

[Article by Georgina Jimenez]

[Text] One of the most moving experiences for any adult in our country has been the occasion when we have had to explain to a child of ours or to any child or young person what a beggar was, what expulsion or eviction was, or what those "clubs," clinics, schools or parks were like where blacks, mulattees and poor people could not enter, or how 21 years ago he and most of his friends could not have attended the school he now goes to.

The mere recounting of those bitter realities, illustrated now and then with a photograph that appeared in the newspaper recalling the past, was enough for the great difference to be evident of itself to the eyes of our young ones. This contrast did not have to be explained to them in detail: They have not seen beggars, nor have they witnessed or suffered an eviction, nor have they experienced or seen in anyone's person humiliating racial discrimination, nor have they had to go to work at an early age, forced to leave school.

They have had this training in their daily life, and what happened 21 years ago constitutes in it the ready point of historical reference.

However, for the children whose parents are packing them into the garden of the Peruvian Embassy and dragging them after them to other lands, there will be another, more bitter, point of reference: The training will be brutal.

When they ask why there are beggars there and not here, young hustlers there and not here; when they cannot go to the closest or most convenient school (Will they be able to go to one at all?), but rather those they can afford or that will admit them; when they confront the injustice that their opportunity to attend school will not depend on their being children

or young people but how much (if any) money their parents have (in countries where the rise in unemployment and the cost of living is unstoppable), or they have to take up miserable work before their time, what answer will their parents give them?

On a continent where, according to figures from UNESCO, only 21.1 of every 100 children between the ages of 6 and 11 go to school, what awaits them? What awaits them if, as the same source says, there are 18.4 million young people between the ages of 12 and 17 who have had no schooling? Once they have been dragged away, serving as poor pawns in the tragic "showcase" engineered by reactionaries on the continent and Yankee imperialists, at what level on the crowded scale of undereducated will they find a place?

When people have the basic necessities of life taken care of: a permanent solid roof overhead, medical care, the school awaiting successive generations of children and young people, the paycheck (or paychecks) guaranteed to come into the home at the end of the month, for some people a blouse in the latest style or a cassette may be something to want above other things, for the rest is of no concern, it isn't lacking. They are things that are there; people have been completely sure of them for years, and some forget why they have them and do not appreciate them fully. However, when they don't have those vital, essential things (and some figures from international organizations speak very clearly of the situation in the Latin-American countries), what things will interest them most, will they need most?

The Training Will be Brutal

Unfortunately, the contrasts have already begun for them. The degrading microworld in which they are involuntarily crowded (that which fits any symbolic image in the gardens of a Havana residence, isolated and surrounded by seas of working people, united, indignant and resolved) is a horrible introduction.

Who will answer for such a rent in the lives of children for whom an entire people is building a superior way of life? Are their parents the only ones responsible? The cruel plot that is now separating them from their homeland has been woven from afar.

Anywhere, however, man understands and fights. Social and political injustice generates revolutionary responses in those who suffer it and have the necessary sensitivity and courage, in any country where they are found is published). That bitter point of historical reference that is being imposed on them today can teach them many things. But the training process did not have to be so brutal.

# 'Poverty' in Peru

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 14 Apr 80 p 6

[Article by Orestes Valera]

[Text] To knowingly lie is one of the chief qualities of the capitalist news agencies. The information is manipulated so shamelessly and with such cynicism that one truly becomes indignant on reading it.

The colonialist news agency AFP, in a lengthy dispatch datelined Lima, 13 April, concerning preparations by the Peruvian Government to receive the scum it has sheltered at its embassy in Havana, makes a number of shameless statements conceivable only in a sick colonialist, imperialist mind.

In an unfortunate attempt to paint an inviting, entertaining picture, the dispatch from the colonialist agency says, when referring to the place where "those given asylum" will be assembled, ". . . in which there is a profusion of vegetation and facilities primarily built for the amusement of the children of Lima." It also says, "They will have the most inviting shelter and the best facilities."

How sensitive and warm this cable is!

Unfortunately, "the children of Lima" cannot enjoy either the "profusion of vegetation" or the "facilities primarily built for amusement" because the Peruvian capital is swarming with thousands of children who, to survive in their own homeland, have to shine shoes, clean automobile windshields, beg a few soles, sell newspapers and magazines or be exploited by thieving businessmen and criminals engaged in illegal pursuits. The vast majority of Lima's children, not to mention Peruvian children, do not even have schools.

What the dispatch says about "the most inviting shelter" is simply disgraceful.

It surely neglected to say that a low-income Peruvian family spends 69.8 percent of its income for rent. This forces it to seek shelter in a small, unsuitable house, overlooking the number of people who must live there. The imperialist dispatch surely neglected to say that Lima, the capital of Peru, is surrounded by lovely hills on which thousands and thousands of people are living in the ironically named "young towns," which shelter those who haven't the money to pay for even a room in which to live with their family. Those areas on the edge of Lima, whose houses are constructed of mud, guano, cardboard and tin from business signs, without any sanitation and with an alarming promiscuity, shelter hundreds of thousands of men and women who do not have jobs or prospects of earning money because the present government has never concerned itself with those Peruvian poor.

If the military government headed by President Francisco Morales Bermudez has never concerned itself about the vast majority of the Peruvian people, who, other than a colonialist, an imperialist or a cynic, is capable of thinking that it is going to concern itself about that foreign scum that it still has in its diplomatic facilities in Havana?

The "inviting shelter" mentioned by AFP "does not have much light." It is just as well that a drawback appeared in that "earthly paradise" very close to the "great thoroughfare in Lima called Javier Prado," where the wealthiest families of Lima's bourgeoisie live. Along that "great thoroughfare" there also swarm, because of the limited lighting and a need of the system, hundreds of prostitutes, homosexuals, marihuana pushers and thieves. All that scum of Peruvian bourgeoisie, prostitutes, homosexuals, marihuana pushers and thieves are waiting with open arms for their counterparts who are being sheltered today on Peruvian territory in Havana.

The colonialist and imperialist news agency AFP also says, "Stocks of food are now being prepared . . . and there are also general practicioners, several pediatricians, nurses and specialists in small children whose mothers are unable for some reason to give them constant care."

The cynicism with which certain news of selfish interest to the reporter is manipulated is extremely disgusting and revolting.

In Peru, an immense population of millions of people is out of work. How are these people fed? Perhaps Morales Bermudez' military government feeds them? Of course not. Thousands of children die of malnutrition, from lack of medical care and access to hospital facilities, which, moreover, are extremely expensive in that country and not accessible to the working class, much less the unemployed and underemployed.

In fact, it is not unusual for families to remove people from governmentoperated hospitals because they are unable to continue paying the high cost of care.

High Food Prices in Peru

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 15 Apr 80 p 7

[Article by PRELA correspondent Palmiro Gomez]

[Text] Lima--The struggle against inflation has become one of the chief concerns of Peruvian officials, especially now that the country is in the phase preceding the presidential election scheduled for May.

According to official figures, inflation in January 1980 was 4 percent, a. estimates for Pebruary are similar, which would surpass official estimates that the 66.7 percent rate recorded last year would be halved.

It should be noted that in 1978 that rate reached 73 percent, but the figure for this last January surpasses the percentages for December (1.95 percent) and November 1979 (2.2 percent).

The principal increases in January were in the category of foodstuffs (6.1 percent), upon which the rate for the last 12 months reached 73.22 percent.

There was also a large increase in clothing (3.49 percent), while housing and furniture and sundry items fell 1.1 and 1.31 percent respectively [as published].

The increase in foodstuffs primarily was for meat, rice, cooking oil, and, to a lesser degree, because of the increase in transport costs due to the 6-percent rise in the price of gasoline (A gallon of regular rose to 215 soles, or \$.825).

The most significant increases were recorded for beef and chicken, which make up 40 percent of Peruvians' protein consumption. The other 60 percent consists of fish, which also rose because of transport costs and speculation.

Beef rose 9 percent between December and January, reaching 612 soles for a kilo of roast (\$2.35). In the 4 months beginning in September 1979, the increase for this item was 60 percent.

Chicken rose 420 soles a kilo (\$1.60) in comparison with 315 soles during the last quarter of 1979. Cooking oil rose from 199 to 307 soles (\$1.18) a liter, although the government kept the price of oil made from fish oil, which is most widely used, at 180 soles (\$.70). Peru imports most of the cooking oil it uses.

The government also increased salaries by 3,000 soles and set the minimum wage at 18,000 soles a month (\$70).

However, most problems involving inflation stem from the decline in real wages recorded during recent years.

According to the magazine ABC, the present average salary is 30,800 soles (\$111), in comparison with the average of 5,200 in 1973 (equivalent to \$134 at that period's exchange rate). Moreover, the real purchasing power of the January 1980 salary is the equivalent of only 3,700 1973 soles.

At the same time, the rate of monetary devaluation in relation to the dollar is tending to increase. According to an announcement by the Central Reserve Bank, the value of the dollar on 30 April will be 271.90 soles. At the end of 1979, it was nearly 250 soles. In February the rate of devaluation was 2.14 percent; in March, 2.23 percent, and in April, 2.33 percent, according to the conservative journal CARETAS.

Right now unionized workers are engaged in an intense struggle to face the economic situation through negotiated increases. This has been reflected in strikes such as those by textile, mining, postal, customs, telephone, light and power and municipal workers, among others.

The struggle is partly in anticipation of the increased expenses they will have to meet in March and April because the school term is beginning. The cost of a student's uniform ranges from 15,700 to 18,350 soles (\$60 to \$70). Essential items will cost at least 3,735 soles (\$14.30).

An analysis by the Center for Action-Oriented Economic Research indicates that inflation originates abroad (higher prices of industrial supplies and other imported products), but, besides being economic and financial, it is speculative and political.

The structure of industry and monetization of foreign exchange from the boom in exports with no possibility of its being absorbed in production are among the economic causes.

The speculation is seen in the inflationary anticipation by producers and merchants, who constantly raise prices to avoid undervaluation. The uncertainty of the electoral process and the pressure of unemployment and underemployment on salaries are also factors.

Faced with this situation, the government decided to rescind a law that authorized producers to increase prices simply by communicating their intentions to the authorities. Now they will have to wait 60 days before their request for an increase takes effect, if it is approved.

The magazine CARETAS noted that this price-control measure was adopted because the ruling junta--composed of the commanding generals of the three services--indicated that the electoral process would be endangered by social pressures if prices continued to escalate.

However, another inflationary factor is the decline in farm production in 1979, due to the drought and the increased cost of such supplies as fertilizers. Prices of these items increased four to seven times during the past year. Urea rose from 15,258 soles a ton to 59,360 soles (\$237) in 1973 [as published].

Prices of other foodstuffs have remained stable since the end of last year. Rice is at 95 soles a kilo (\$.36) and sugar, 69 soles (\$.27).

Rent for a three-bedroom apartment is between 30,000 and 40,000 soles (\$115 to \$154) a month.

GENERAL RECALLS PLAYA GIRON, DENANDS RESPECT IN MILITIAHAN DAY SPEECH

Havana GRANNA in Spanish 17 Apr 80 p 2

[Speech delivered by Brig Gen Ulises Rosales del Toro, member of the party Central Committee and chief of the Western Army, at the principal PAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] ceremony celebrating the 19th anniversary of the proclamation of the socialist character of the Revolution and the Day of the Militiaman, held on 16 April 1980 at the FAR Commandante Camilo Cienfuegos Artillery School]

(Text) Army General Raul Castro, second secretary of the party Central Committee and minister of the FAR; members of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the party Central Committee; quests; comrades:

As they do each year on this date, the Revolutionary Armed Forces and all of the people are celebrating the Day of the Militiaman and thus paying homage to the hundreds of thousands of men and women who, when the work of the Revolution had scarcely begun and imperialist aggression constituted a sort of daily bread, joined combat units and defended the Revolution's conquests at all costs.

Nearly 2 decades ago, on a day like today, on the solemn occasion of burying the first combatants killed by imperialist aggression as a result of the first bombardments, our commander in chief proclaimed the socialist character of the Revolution, and all of the people prepared to defend it on the sands of their beaches, in their factories and schools, in the fields, towns and cities. Since then, each day has been a new time of effort to make the country advance, to survive and to defeat the imperialist blockade, to build a new society, to defend the people's peaceful labor and to make national dignity prevail.

Opon the triumph of the Revolution, our country had the hardened but scant forces of the Rebel Army, which, although they were enough to defeat the tyrants' military machinery, were not sufficient to confront the new tasks facing the people as a result of the constant threats and aggression by the imperialists and attempts at counterrevolution.

Under these circumstances, it was necessary to find a solution that would make it possible to quickly create a force composed of hundreds of thousands of men; to form, within a short time, units with different purposes; and, on this foundation, to accelerate our country's military development. The creation of the National Revolutionary Militias was the response of the working class, the farmers, the students and professional people, the women and all the working people to the stated need.

In the face of the dramatic reality in which the Revolution's survival and conquests were at stake, thousands of men and women who had never grasped a weapon become disciplined, able soldiers. In only a few months, hundreds of cadres were prepared for command, and within a period of weeks specialists in artillery and mortars, tankers and communications people were trained.

From the first month of the Revolution's triumph, it was clear that only a solution that took into account the people's enthusiasm and will to take part in the tasks of defense and that believed in the patriotism of the masses and in their ability to undergo all the sacrifices that were necessary, could respond to the imperative of that time. Adhering to its principles, the Revolution trusted the people and placed weapons in their hands.

When the attack at Giron took place, and during the bombardment that preceded it, our enemies were astonished to realize that they were being met here by troops who, although they lacked complete military training, had weapons and knew how to use them. The rest was done by courage, the determination to fight and the class hatred that workers feel toward the exploiters who, defeated once, were returning to regain their privileges, to cheat the people of their conquests and to drag our society back into the situation that prevailed throughout the entire period of the bourgeois republic.

As soon as the revolutionary changes began, the people, the great majority, supported them wholeheartedly. Agrarian reform, reduction of rents, nationalization of education and health services, expropriation of of embezzled assets, socialization of foreign firms, banking and trade brought about the transfer of the basic means of production and, with that, the strings of political power into the hands of the people; and it sharply delineated the character of the Revolution, which, by carrying out measures, defined itself clearly.

When Pidel clearly stated the nature and purpose of these changes, the assembled masses roared their approval. For history, there was the graphic testimony of a sea of rifles demonstrating their preparedness to fight for our right to construct the socialist society.

They went from there to the trenches, and hours later our people were locked in fierce combat with a mercenary force composed of thousands of

men armed by the United States, prepared for many months at training grounds located on American territory and in several Central American countries.

They came with tanks and artillery, they landed from airplanes, and with air support they carried out an operation planned at length. They took over numerous points of resistance; they controlled road intersections and established effective communications among themselves; but they did not figure on what swept over them. A literal avalanche of lead, a mass of men prepared not to stop until the occupied beach was gained.

The rest of the story is known. In less than 72 hours, the mercenaries' positions fell, and the cowards who were prepared to fight their own people paid for the crime with their lives. The luckier ones lived to appear before the courts, to publicly repent, and to display their cowardice when many said they had been cooks. Rarely in the history of the military art had such demonstrated troops been seen; and never had anyone heard of an army that consisted entirely of impedimenta.

Our people did in fact pay a high price in lives. The factories and schools were filled with the pictures of their heroes. Great pride was rightfully felt by the thousands of Cuban families whose members included participants in that heroic deed, people who 20 years later make up the core of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, the working class and our party.

In practically every military unit, in workplaces, in party organizations and in many families there are militiamen who remember the days when our people faced the dramatic choice of taking up arms to defend their achievements or perishing at the hands of the alliance of counterrevolutionaries and imperialists.

Many will relive those events with great feeling. Those who fought and those the made up an effective rear guard, those who kept production going, the women who took the place of their fathers, brothers and husbands, the children who brightened victory with their smiles, can feel the satisfaction of having made a modest personal contribution to the most significant event in the history of the Americas: the founding of the first workers' and farmers' state on the continent; for, as Army Gen Raul Castro has said, "It consolidated the presence of socialism in America."

## Comrades:

Except for the qualitative differences that have arisen with the passing years and the advances made by the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, the world's workers and those who love peace and social progress, the current international situation is somewhat analogous to the political climate existing at the historical moment in which the National Revolutionary Militias appeared.

As they did then, the imperialists are trying to impose their reactionary policy by means of intimidation and violence; and more and more frequently they are employing aggressive, arrogant language and actions that recall the worst moments in the history of U.S. foreign policy.

Here is proof of the inconsistency of the imperialists' policy, which expands and contracts in conformity with the most frivolous and petty interests: The world of today, which has experienced moments of justifiable hope with the moderating of the international climate that resulted from the advances achieved by the socialist countries' firm, clear and consistent policy of peace, the realistic conduct of many European countries and the establishment of commitments that, as the Helsinki and SALT II agreements, are intended to serve as suitable tools for reducing conflicts and lessening tension, is witness to a new, spontaneously generated version of cold war policy that endangers the advances achieved and drags all of humankind into a retrogression that all peoples reject and that no sensible person desires.

Again recourse is being had to an economic blockade, the sale of grain and equipment to the USSR being forbidden. The peoples of the Middle East are being threatened. Unconditional support is being granted to governments such as El Salvador's, which is bleeding its own country. To top it off, they are taking the unheard-of step of boycotting the Olympic Games for the simple reason that they are taking place in a socialist country.

President Carter's government, which in most instances in which it should make a sensible decision behaves sluggishly, has repeatedly stated its intention of improving relations with Cuba. However, its actions have been kaleidoscopic in their ambiguity. It isn't necessary to be well acquainted with the rugged paths of high-level politics to wonder: How can such a statement be consistent with the absurd conduct of the present American administration with respect to Cuba? How can they speak of improving relations when aggressive acts are increasing, spy flights over our territory continue, the Guantanamo naval base is strengthened, and an intervention command for the Caribbean region is created which, working from a clumsily developed plan, now has announced the performance of some maneuvers that can only be of concern to the peoples of the continent and alert the region's progressive and revolutionary governments, although they do not achieve their objective of giving people sleepless nights.

Our people are not alarmed by such provocations. The armed forces and their reserves are continuing a normal rhythm of activity, but the powder is being kept dry, weapons ready and each man at his post. Twenty years ago, they landed in April and were greeted with shouts of "Patria o muerte!" and a deluge of lead. If they want to now, they can change the date to their defeat [as published], as our people have said recently. There can also be Girons in May.

Our country doesn't want or need war. We favor peace, and we defend relaxation of tensions. We are devoting all our efforts to development of the country; and we can coexist with all the governments on the continent, with the cortainty that every people will, in due time, settle accounts with it exploiters. We don't tell the United States how it must conduct its affairs. We only demand that we be respected, that no one try to tell us what we have to do, and that they not lecture us, much less threaten us.

Our right may not be questioned or violated. We defended it with the armed people at the most glorious of our beaches; and today we are re-affirming it with the denunciation and condemnation of those who have sought to blackmail us and those who are attempting to frighten us.

It is not actually alarming that this society's soum has run to take refuge behind an embassy's fence. If they can't live in this country where the people voluntarily and resolutely are building socialism, then move to more favorable climes, to Peru, Venezuela and the Yankee paradise. Cuba doesn't need them. Cuba needs its heroic working class, its diligent farm workers, its hard-working women, its enthusiastic young people and its magnificent pioneers. They are in Cuba, with Cuba, and prepared to defend the flag and the territory of the first socialist country in the Americas.

## Comrades

On this occasion, we cannot fail to recall the circumstances under which our National Revolutionary Militias were formed and developed. They were days like these days, days of revolutionary reaffirmation in which the people demonstrated their support of the Revolution in the streets and in the factories, in the mines and in the schools, in the fields and in the cities, and everywhere else. The sight of young people shouting slogans in the streets, of the workers defending the Revolution by their machines, of the neighbors watching over their districts, is like returning to this people's best days, the days of struggle and glory at Giron and of the October crisis, and reliving our Revolution's best moments.

In the name of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Revolutionary Armed Porces and all the working people, we salute the militiamen of yesterday, the reservists who today are continuing that beautiful tradition, the working class and the farm workers, who, unruffled and unafraid, stand calm, prepared to fight, wherever and whenever it is necessary.

The humble people of the mountains and the plains made the Cuban Revolution. The workers have defended it and consolidated it; and the workers will defend their achievements with courage and with honor on the beaches and in the streets. There will never be a retreat. We shall always move forward, and each day we'll achieve what we did at Giron: a victory for the people and their Revolution.

Long live the heroes of Playa Giron!

Long live the Hilitian!

Long live the socialist revolution!

Long live Fidel!

/ Patherland or death! We will overcome!/ [in boldface]

### BRIEFS

BUS FARE INCREASE PROTESTED--The Association of Urban Mass Transporters and Related Services [Association de Transportadores Urbanos de Colectivos y Similares] of Guyas Province has asked the government for the necessary assistance to import buses to give the city better services, noting that fares should be set at 2.20 sucres in order to enable transporters to cover their costs. Guayas Police Intendant Abdallah Bucaram Ortis summoned the leaders of interprovincial transportation cooperatives serving the Guayaquil-San Borondon and Guayaquil-Ayaguache routes to his office to answer charges from the inhabitants of those municipalities that they have increased fares. This action gave rise to a general strike in San Borondon and to serious incidents which were controlled only after the police intervened. Bucaram has warned that he will not allow any increases in fares. [Text] [PA032203 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 1230 GMT 3 May 80]

DEPUTY AGAINST MILITARY DICTATORSHIP--Deputy Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy has warned that a military dictatorship would be detrimental to the Armed Forces establishment. Arosemena specifically attributed the present political crisis to the 10 years of dictatorship the country has suffered. He stated that the crisis is not only political but moral and that it encompasses numerous other aspects. In answer to a question regarding the possibility of a military dictatorship as a result of the present crisis, Arosemena expressed hope that good judgment would prevail among those who compose the high command. He said that military dictatorships have never done any good and recalled that even the military who have usurped power are marked forever. [Text] [Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 18 Apr 80 p A-3]

UNITED POPULAR ACTION FRONT CRITICIZES U.S. POLICY

PA091321 San Salvador EL INDEPENDIENTE in Spanish 7 May 80 p 6

[Paid advertisement by the United Popular Action Front]

[Excerpts] Some 19 years ago, the misnamed "apostle of democracy," John F. Kennedy, authorized and promoted a crasy interventionist adventure in Cuba. He sent a group of Cuban "worms" commanded by CIA agents to try to open a revolutionary front because the United States was unable to halt the liberation process begun by the Cubans after they defeated the Batista dictatorship imposed and maintained by the United States to protect its ample and unjust privileges in the island.

This situation of privileges maintained by an unprecedented military machine which serves to threaten the Soviet Union and blackmail its Western "allies" is slowly creating a new world crisis which not only endangers peace but the future of humanity itself.

It is within this framework of conflicts and tensions created by imperialism around the world, that U.S. intervention in El Salvador takes place. The tones and variations of the conflict promoted and developed in this part of the world, and in which the Salvadoran case is given special attention, are a threat not only to the right for self-determination of peoples, but also brazenly attacks the right to peace, order and the lives of people, even though they may have decided to rid themselves once and for all of the undesirable tutelage of our oppressors.

We see how imperialism deploys all its military activities in the Caribbean protesting alleged Cuban interference in each and every conflict in the area. We see how an invasion of Grenada, a boycott against Jamaica and destabilization and if necessary an open intervention in Micaragua are coldly planned, as well as the crushing of a peoples rebellion in our country which prepares to overthrow a decadent oligarchy maintained by the greatest enemy of humanity, Yankee imperialism.

It is not by chance that a terrorist, such as Robert White, has been appointed 'ambassador" to our country. He sponsors the genocidal activities

of the puppet Christian Democratic junta, finances the murder of peoples leaders, loudly applauds the extermination campaign waged by a puppet army, meets to plan terrorist activities with d'Aubuisson and Hedrano and, in short, is directly to blame for the innumerable crimes which are daily committed against the Salvaioran people and their legitimate representatives, the peoples democratic organizations united under the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

It is almost certain that following the debacle in Iran and even amid a turbulent presidential campaign which casts aspersion on the honor of leading the most genocidal nation in history, the Pentagon strategists, headed by the responsible director for the U.S. foreign policy, the Pole Brzezinski, continues preparing an invasion from Guatemala using the "valuable" service of the Guatemalan extreme right headed by Mario Sandoval Alarcon. It will also continue developing the democratic farce in Honduras where a liberal party, against all predictions, "triumphed" over the National Party which maintains firm ties with the military dictal reship headed by a well-known drug trafficker--Colonel Paz Garcia.

All this prewar activity in the Central American region predicts a conflict of incalculable proportions which, although it is true will be a severe blow on our limping economies, weakened by the constant sacking of monopolies, will also serve to attain the liberation of our hard-suffering and heroic people, the consolidation of the Nicaraguan revolution, as well as the beginning of an irreversible process of intensification of class struggle in Guatemala and Honduras.

There is no doubt that imperialism withdraws before the growing strength of the liberation movements in all parts of the world. Its foreign policy is bankrupt and its economy declines to unprecedented low levels. The economic crisis beats at the door of the empire while its "prestige" collapses and announces a new "Bay of Pigs" for imperialism. For the peoples of America the words of Che Guevara are coming true: "We must create a new Vietnam" where imperialism will day by day seal its final defeat which will allow all the countries of the world to live in peace and determine their own destiny.

# HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP LEADER PREDICTS CIVIL WAR

PA081306 San Salvador EL INDEPENDIENTE in Spanish 5 May 80 p 16

[Excerpts] Some 100,000 well-armed grantillas will confront 100,000 regular army troops in a future civil war in all Salvador, said Marianela Garcia Dias in a recent interview in Mexico with the "Center of Economic Information" from Guatemala City, on the occasion of the coinciding visit to that city of members of the Revolutionary Coordinating Board of the Masses and of a human rights group from El Salvador.

Marianela Garcia Diaz, president of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, said that according to official figures, over 2,200 persons were killed between 15 October 1979 and 31 March 1980, victims of the brutal government repression. However, she said that figure only represents 30 percent of the actual number of victims.

She added that 60 percent of the victims were youths between 12 and 18 years of age, including 23 women.

She affirmed that most of these persons were murdered by the national guard, the national police, and the extreme rightist organization known as "White Warriors Union." "In El Salvador, there are practically no political prisoners because those arrested by the government forces are either killed or disappear."

According to Marianela Garcia Dias, the civil war in El Salvador is imminent. "The armed struggle will be decided promptly if the United States does not intervene militarily in the area, as it would then turn the conflict into a war similar to that of Vietnam during the sixties." She then added "if such intervention does not take place, the war would end in favor of the popular forces in less than 6 months because the popular insurrection continues to spread, involving all Salvadoran sectors."

MAJANO ADMITS GROWTH OF VIOLENCE, SEES DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION

LD081113 Madrid YA in Spanish 1 May 80 p 10

[Interview with Salvadoran junta member Col Adolfo Majano in San Salvador by Jose V. Colchero: "A Country on the Very Brink of Civil War"--date not specified]

[Excerpt] [Introductory paragraphs omitted] [Question] Colonel Majano, are you the progressive "strong man" in the junta?

[Answer] Your question is difficult to answer, but what I can assure you of is that I know very well what my country and our people want and what their needs are. We want a social change which presupposes a better distribution of wealth. We aspire to a social and economic transformation of El Salvador.

[Question] Will you be able to implement the agrarian reform which has been proposed?

[Answer] It is not easy. We have thoroughly studied the problem of land ownership and farming. But difficulties are arising, stemming from the bodies responsible for implementing the reform. We acknowledge that the first steps have been improvised, because our bodies are not adequately prepared for implementing the full agrarian reform. However, we are certain that the agrarian reform will be very successful.

[Question] What will be the other aspects of this broad and rapid social reform to which the junta aspires?

[Answer] We have been placing emphasis on health and education and on the labor aspect of rural workers. We believe that the essence of the agrarian reform lies in the farming of the land directly by the peasants--by those who work it. The tenant farmers will be given ownership of the land which was hitherto leased.

[Question] Are you confident that these reforms will be feasible, or do you share the widespread fear that they come too late for El Salvador?

[Answer] I believe that the reforms have come in time, because they will benefit the poor, and this is the reason for our struggle. Our desire is that this transformation can be effected without bloodshed. The Salvadoran people have already suffered enough and are now awaiting for calm and progress to come.

[Question] But the fact is that violence and bloodshed have recently increased....

[Answer] You are right. This is worrying. The reforms will not achieve the country's pacification at the outset. They will take effect in the medium and long term. But for the present the reforms have caused a disruption of our social order, since the people affected have reacted.

[Question] When could this "medium term" be?

[Answer] I hope that there will already be a stabilization by the end of the year, although I also believe that this upsurge of violence which you mention could diminish soon by our resorting more to dialogue. We in the junta wish to engage in dialogue with leftwing sectors of people's groups, and also with private enterprise, in order to be able to bring them all together and reconcile them.

[Question] You are the junta's progressive image, but are not your hands tied, and, as a result of this, has there not been a desertion by democratic political groups which were previously prepared to help you but are now becoming alienated from the process?

[Answer] I respect this appraisal of the image presented by our government. We--I wish to emphasize--wish to transform the country, and we also wish to take the leftwing groups and the employers into account. We are resorting to dialogue. We will therefore turn our attention to the progressive groups which were cooperating with us when the first junta was set up in October last year.

[Question] How will you win them back?

[Answer] We will offer them the opportunity to take part in the government. We will seek to remove any existing obstacles to our working together.

[Question] It is feared that May Day will be a violent day and that the atmosphere will become charged with dangers of civil war....

[Answer] May Day has always been a day of workers' demonstrations and rallies, and some acts of violence have inevitably occurred. However, we are confident that they will not occur now.

[Question] There is the "domino theory" about the revolutionary process in Central America; after Nicaragua, El Salvador could fall....

[Answer] This is the opinion of many prominent observers. There has been a revolutionary ferment in El Salvador and Guatemala for several years, even predating Nicaragua. The entire Central American area is seeking a new path for its future.

[Question] What will that path be? Is it the revolutionary process?

[Answer] Yes. I believe that in El Salvador, specifically, a democratic revolution will take place; that is, a revolution which can accommodate private enterprise and the people's groups, but with a democratic characteristic. I would not like to judge the case of Nicaragua, because the current situation there is delicate.

[Question] It has been said that you have of contacts with the Sandinistas, and specifically with Tomas Borge, one of the most radical figures of revolutionary Nicaragua....

[Answer] Not with Borge exactly, but with other members of the Nicaraguan Government, and I have also held telephone contacts with commanders of the Sandinist command. I do not view the Nicaraguan process with aversion; I view it calmly and as something positive for that neighboring country's process.

[Question] And here in El Salvador, do you expect a revolution which will make possible constitutent elections and a Western-type democracy?

[Answer] I believe that we will draft a constitution which will place us in the democratic camp.

[Question] Are you worried that El Salvador's government junta is proving incapable of curbing the process of violence...?

[Answer] I believe that the government will eventually curb the violence and stabilize the country; I am confident. We took into account the fact that our first steps of reform might provoke adverse reactions and some awkward situations such as this, but I am convinced that we will stabilize the process.

[Question] Do the mass organizations no longer regard the radical revolutionary process as ripe?

[Answer] We have held no contacts with groups not belonging to the junta.

[Question] To what extent can the extreme rightwing sectors be controlled by the government? It is said that much of the violence originates from these groups....

[Answer] I cannot deny it. There are clandestine rightwing and leftwing organizations, and it is this underground struggle which is creating the

process of violence in the country. But we will control them. We are taking away the support which they could receive from the moderate right-wing sectors and progressive private enterprise. In this way they will be isolated.

[Question] The junta has the support of the United States, but Europe seems rather remote from this entire process. What do you hope for from Europe and, more specifically, from Spain?

[Answer] We hope for moral support from Europe and broader relations with all countries of that continent, especially in the particular instance of Spain. I would like Spain to have greater understanding of our process.

[Question] Do you believe that Spain is reticent?

[Answer] We have seen no definite rapprochement, but there have been expressions of moral support. It is likely that we will achieve better relations when the situation in our country has been clarified a little more. I take the opportunity to greet the Spanish people, whom we hold in particular esteem.

## MEWSPAPER URGES YOUNG OFFICERS TO TAKE FIRM STAND

PAOS1559 San Salvador EL INDEPENDIENTE in Spanish 5 May 80 p 3

[Editorial by Jorge Pinto: "The Voice of the People Is the Voice of God"]

[Excerpts] Both 1 and 2 May were days of rumors. Rumors spread in every direction, like meteors out of control, and all eyes were on the governing junta of El Salvador.

One thing stands out from those 2 days of speculation: If the junta should become upset today by the rumors, it is because the divisions in the ruling group are quite unbearable. To us, the power is divided into three parts first, the part represented by the traditional rightwing army which yearns for the old days of romance with the oligarchy. The other is the Christian Democracy, maintained in power by the State Department, made up, according to the resignation statement of Salazar Tandell, by elements known by their limitations, as a result of "the deteriorating situation and struggle for positions among the few party leaders still in power." And the third position is that of the young members of the armed forces headed by Majano and which appear to be trying to break away from the traditional marriage between the armed forces and the eligarchy and turn the military institution into a true people's army.

In order to further look into this reality, we again refer to the statement made by Economic Planning Minister Salazar Tandell when he resigned.

Tandell goes on record to express his gratitude to Col Adolfo Arnoldo Majano "who always distinguished me with his support and understanding which I be-lieve reflect the position of the armed forces."

In other words, it is evident to everybody that at least Colonel Majano is the only immaculate personality in sight within the present framework of power, and who probably is the commander of that silent force represented by the young officers; although everyone expects that force to define itself once and for all so that the country does not have to keep shedding its blood. Salazar Tandell also said he is not resigning from his vocation to serve the public. "I am willing to serve in a government of national representation and for the benefit of the majorities, in the true sense of the word, rather than in the sense given by demagogy."

This is our conclusion: As long as this delay and indecision prevails while bloodshed continues, the fatherland is threatened by being again attacked by the jackals. Therefore, it is necessary for the military youth to take immediate action to integrate what Salazar Tandell calls "a government of national representation and for the benefit of the majorities, in the true sense of the word, rather than in the sense given by demagogy."

## PRIVATE SECTOR VIEWS ECONOMIC SITUATION

PA080028 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 8 May 80 pp 3, 43

[Text] "The political crisis affecting the country, is having a direct and devastating effect on the national economy. The capacity to support this situation is reaching the limits of tolerance and if the present crisis continues to deteriorate, the national economy will break down bringing a chaotic social situation as a result," said National Association of Private Enterprise [ANEP] President Jose Eduardo Palomo Castillo when asked about the Salvadoran situation.

The business leader said: "The nation's economy has the capacity for development and to resist the negative aspects created by sociopolitical upheavals. If a building is designed to stand a certain stress, it is foolhardy to exceed this point because it will inevitably collapse."

ANEP's president then explained: The dynamism and intensive efforts made by the business sectors during peaceful times allowed the building of a vigorous and constantly growing economy. In spite of all the hardships and destruction suffered by the Salvadoran private sector, there is still time to prevent the country's economic collapse. How to do it should be the main concern of the government's policy and of the business sector."

Palomo Castillo added: "Naturally we know that this is not easy but neither is it impossible, especially since it is a matter of keeping our country from a disaster. I personally believe that there are three fundamental aspects:

- "1. The immediate return to the strict respect for the political constitution.
- "2. The reestablishment of peace and
- "3. A clear definition of the rules of the game for the business sector."

Palomo Castillo said in conclusion that: 'When government officials take measures directly affecting the economic sector, they should weigh their results. ANEP has clearly defined its support of a process of structural

changes but it believes that the changes should be implemented without demagogic abuses.

"During these difficult times, we must keep in mind that destruction is easy but building presents a challenge to the intelligence and good will of all Salvadorans."

# TRAVELERS COMMENT ON NEGATIVE NATIONAL IMAGE

PA090257 San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 7 May 80 p 32

[Text] Travelers arriving from abroad report that the campaign to discredit the country is continuing. They claim that following the frustrated coup d'etat it reached extremes, involving diplomatic personnel from friendly countries.

Some sources, commenting on statements by Napoleon Duarte that we are living "the age of rumors" said unfortunately these "rumors" serve as source for foreign correspondents who arrive at the country with preconceived notions.

However, travelers said the present administration could improve its image, and that the extension of the state of siege is repressing freedom of expression.

They believe that the lack of information from reliable sources, and news passed from person to person, creates a serious situation.

Most travelers agreed that in view of the difficult situation, it would be difficult to mount a campaign abroad because of its high cost, but that the situation could be improved with greater freedom of information which, without getting involved in politics, could indicate errors and abuses committed in some reforms, such as the so-called expansion of the agrarian reform. In this respect Costa Rica's LA NACION on 30 April said that the hasty renting of lands to the peasants, could trigger "a new armed forces intervention."

"This is detrimental to the army's image," a Salvadoran traveler said on his return from the south but this serves to show that persons abroad are debating matters that should concern Salvadorans alone, yet we do not do it because of the suspension of Article 158, which guarantees freedom of expression."

#### BRIMES

ATTACKS AGAINST SCHOOL CONDEMNED -- The news conference held by the central authorities of the University of El Salvador ended on Friday with a tour by newsmen of the installations of the law and social sciences department to view the damage caused by the machineguns and the barookas of the army. A press bulletin of the university reported that the university authorities also condemned the criminal attack against the university shortly before 1800 on 30 April. The news conference was held in the conference room of the rector's office. It was attended by the university rector, secretary general, attorney and planning secretary and a representative of the General Association of Salvadoran University Students (AGEUS). After condemning the systematic attacks against the university, the academic authorities denied that students are dropping out of the university. They also said it is false that the university is holding up the graduation papers of students in various departments. On the contrary, they said, all the procedures are being sped up and the students are very happy about this. [Excerpts] [PA081729 San Salvador LA CRONICA in Spanish 6 May 80 p 3]

FEDERATION CRITICIZES U.S. REGIONAL POLICY

PAO40121 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 24 Apr 80 p 17

[Paid Advertisement by the Federation of Hispanic Publications]

[Text] We are facing a train which left Panama well-armed and loaded with psychological campaign fuel and socialist, Marxist propaganda. This train was organized by the state department and supplied by Venezuela and Costa Rica. Its main station was Panama and from this country its plan is to destroy all the governments in Central America and Mexico and to impose Marxist governments.

This train is driven by William Bowdler, under secretary of state for Latin American affairs; James Cheek, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state, U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Lawrence Pezzullo, and U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White. These amateurs are part of the great state department plot against Central America, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay. These gentlemen of the democratic party's socialist line insure that this train will destroy everything that has cost the American peoples so much blood, struggle and sacrifices in order to emerge from the dark curtain of social, political and economic underdevelopment which the great Marxist thinkers within the U.S. Democratic Party have called their human rights campaign.

This old human rights story serves to call repressive those governments fighting terrorism in their country, while terrorists call the cold-blooded murder of our sons social justice.

It is a paradox that the oldest brother wants to destroy his youngest ones and recommends laws and sociomarxist methods which are not applied in the United States.

These methods are nationalization of banks, land and private concerns to turn our people into zombies.

Bowdler and Cheek should be interpellated at the U.S. Senate regarding their relations, activities and intervention in Central American politics.

These countries should expell Cheek and White from their territories and begin to stop the apocalyptic train in the sister Salvadoran republic and return it to its starting point for the good of democracy. We must defeat. Marxist forces in El Salvador in the same manner that a cancer is operated on and follow the examples of Chile, Argentina and Uruguay who are today at peace. This peace cost many lives, but it is well earned.

The war for Guatemala and Honduras is being waged in El Salvador and we munt defeat Marxism, halting this train. Otherwise these countries will just be other stops in the journal to turn our peoples over to communism as Nicaragua was surrendered by the Carter regime.

The struggle is not economic, ideological or social. It is a fight to death for power, without caring who may fall, them or us. The men of America must define their positions, and defend what is theirs so that later they will not cry as women.

Let us drive communism out of Central America, let us eliminate the Marxist forces and return the apocalyptic train to its starting point. The cross is less heavy in our neighbors' house than in your own.

PANAMANIAN, CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN BELIZE DISCUSSED

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 9 Apr 80 p 2

[Commentary: "Are Cubans Replacing Panamanians in Belize Port Projects?"]

[Text] A report from the Associated Press in Washington reveals a disclosure by the North American Institute of Domestic Relations of activities by Cuban laborers "who are passing themselves off as Panamanians" in the building of a new port in Belize. We are going to say something about this based on quite recent events disclosed by the Belize press.

Many will remember the reactions here in Guatemala resulting from the Panamanian Government's surprising conduct and most importantly that of its "strongman" Omar Torrijos back in the last years of General Laugerud's presidency. It happened that Torrijos, unexpectedly, was the first to abandon the solidarity of the isthmus (including Panama) in support of Guatemala regarding its legitimate claim on Belize. At that time Torrijos, separating himself from the Central American union, officially placed Panama on the side of the Belize independence cause, according to the wishes of the colony's premier, George Price, for whom Torrijos began to display a great friendship starting at that time. This conduct was severely criticized by Laugerud, according to his own judgment of the event and based on his ethical beliefs of international friendship, which he saw broken by Torrijos. The immediate response was, in fact, the severing of diplomatic relations with the Panamanian Government.

Torrijos carried even further the ill will suddenly kindled in him against Guatemala--treacherously in the case of Belize--without in the least trying to hide what he was doing. This only led to suspicions of a doubly insincere action, as was shown in fact by the documented discoveries of the Belize opposition--whose attacks reached as far as Washington--of open collusion between the "strongman" of Panama and Mr Price founded on progressively increasing Panamanian exploitation--actually by Torrijos--in Belize, including, among other commercial operations, construction of a housing complex and building of a modern port in Belize. It is likely that the AP cable refers to these matters. Moreover, during the period to which we are referring more disclosures were made about Cuban interest in Belize

in such a way that one may suppose that this was a joint Cuban-Panamanian action. Supporting this theory is the additional conjecture that secret interests are at work in the background concerning developments in the British-Guatemalan dispute, toward which the objectives of Cuba's Marxist policies are not unrelated.

The proof of these preceding events could be revealed at any moment, and perhaps it would be worthwhile to try to do this as a preventive measure. As a final comment one might note that our present government corrected what was done by the previous one—a rectification which many have attributed to the close personal friendship between Torrijos and our vice-president.

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## COMMENTS ON CURRENCY EXCHANGE CONTROLS

Controls not Temporary

PAO71730 Guatemala City EL IMPARCIAL in Spanish 26 Apr 80 p 2

["Temas de Interes" column by Mario Ribas Montes: "Background of the Currency Exchange Control"]

[Text] We agree with some of the explanations that the country's monetary authorities gave regarding the motives behind the government's imposing of control on the transfer of capital abroad as a way to protect our foreign exchange reserves.

However, we don't understand why it was announced that this is a temporary measure to be lifted when the causes that forced the government to apply it disappear--something we do not believe will be that easy. According to the authorities there are two causes for the flight of capital that is creating an imbalance in our reserves. Plinio Grazioso, president of the Bank of Guatemala, said that one of the reasons is economic in nature and results from the interest rate increase offered by foreign banks. The other is not an economic cause; it has to do with the fears that have arisen among the Guatemalans as a result of the political problems in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Neither of these two causes will disappear so soon as to allow us to say that the currency exchange control will be transitory, unless the government immediately takes action to lift regulations on the interest rate of the Guatemalan banks. Undoubtedly this would reduce the flight of capital by at least 50 percent. Fears arising from political unstability are on the increase. They would disappear only if Central America becomes stable overnight, something very unlikely, if not impossible.

We can understand the reason why the flight of capital increased during the past few months. It had been insistently commented everywhere that the government was planning to apply currency exchange controls and this, of course, produced a massive flight of money to foreign banks. We know that it was difficult to maintain secrecy since the few persons who knew

about it because of their jobs, told their friends thus unleashing the spreading of the news, with disastrous effects.

In December of last year, personal friends of ours told us that such a measure was going to be applied. The measure was also being commented on in public and private institutions as a fait accompli. We are sure that very few Guatemalans ignored that the exchange control measure was imminent and those who knew it took their money out as a precaution in case Guatemala becomes contaminated by the serious ailments that presently affect its neighbors.

We don't know if the monetary leaders consulted international organizations on the suitability of putting into effect a restrictive measure that allects Guatemala's international transactions and foreign investments. In this regard we have read commentaries in foreign financial circles where the news had a depressing impact since the measure reveals, according to published reports, that the situation in our country is not good. It is unfortunate that a measure that shows our problems has been applied at a time when it was necessary for our country to give an impression of stability before the world.

Locally, also, the imposing of the exchange control has been discouraging because it has shown that a great number of Guatemalans do not believe in the country's future since they are exporting their savings abroad. Let us hope that the flight is due mainly to the attraction of high interest rates in other countries and not to a lack of confidence in our future because this would weaken the defenses we will need for the moment when we will have to defend liberty.

#### Monetary Reserves Increase

PA092136 Guatemala City Radio-Television Guatemala in Spanish 0400 GMT 9 May 80

[Text] Guatemala's monetary reserves have increased by almost 27 million quetzales following the exchange control measures. Finance Minister Col Hugo Tulio Bocaro Garcia said: [Begin recording] During the first 9 days after the measures for controlling the movement of capitals were implemented, the monetary reserves have grown by 26.7 million quetzales. The total of the country's monetary reserves is 859.2 million quetzales. [End recording]

## COFFEE GROWERS SCORE U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

PA072345 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 26 Apr 80 p 53

[Paid advertisement: Editorial by the coordinator of associations and regionals of organized coffee growers of the republic affiliated to the Chamber of Agriculture of Guatemala, entitled: "What Castro Could not Do in 20 Years, Carter Did in 3"]

[Excerpts] Soon after he assumed the presidency of the United States in November 1976, the world started to suffer from the amazing political blunders committed by Jimmy Carter. A runt of insignificant personality, burdened by philosophical complexes, bubbling with good intentions and evangelically honest, Mr Jimmy Carter is nevertheless naive and unstable, indecisive and weak, a bad judge of human nature and absolutely ignorant of historic facts. Unfortunately for the so-called free world, the United States has as its president the individual, the least fit to face the current historical situation, the tremendous challenge of what could be a third world war promoted by the USSR, a nation inspired by its aggressive ideology, one based on doctrines of geopolitical ambitions and led by men who are pragmatic, able, trained and determined.

James Fallows, who used to be Jimmy Carter's assistant, says in an article published in the magazine ATLANTIC: "Carter follows 50 ideas at the same time; however, he lacks enough foresight to raise the enthusiasm of his assistants. His lack of knowledge of history is constantly leading him to rediscover the fire, the wheel and the lever."

For example: On 31 December 1977, he was received by the shah of Iran in Tehran. On that occasion he categorically said: "No country is so close to ours or to our collective security. There is no other ruler to whom I am so grateful and for whom I have such great personal friendship." But a little more than a year later, in January 1979, he sent Gen Robert Huyser to Iran behind the shah's back to negotiate the fall of the shah (traditional tactic of current U.S. leaders). Then Jimmy Carter thought it was realistic to abandon and betray his great friend and the oldest U.S. ally in that part of the world.

Influenced by the elastic philosophical principles of the so-called trilateralism, which includes human rights arguments demagogically and discriminately applied against Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, but not against the oil producing countries in the Middle East, and by Jimmy Carter's innate duplicity, the arrogant and subversive proconsuls of his administration; the Lawrence Pezzullos, the Byron Bakys, the William Bowdlers, his ambassadors and the rest of his colleagues, have managed to destabilize Central America. They have done this by meddling in our countries' internal affairs, by bribing politicians and militarymen so that they can carry out their dark schemes to create chaos and anarchy, encourage subversion and set up Marxist regimes, like in Nicaragua, thus playing right into the hands of the Russians.

In May 1977, Jimmy Carter, referring to the USSR, said that "no country can impose its social system on another." But what else is he doing in our isthmus? What right does this mediocre man have to impose his incompetence here, being a failure in his own country, not only in foreign policy but in domestic affairs, where for instance, inflation for the first time has reached 18 percent in a year?

Guatemalans have always been and will always be friends of the people of the United States. However, we are not going to forget too easily that it was a U.S. president—we realize that he is one of the most inept presidents in the history of the United States—who with his dreadful assistants of the new leftwing, has done in barely 3 years what Fidel Castro, certainly an enemy but declared, has not been able to do in 20 years; that is, to establish Marxism and its martyrdom in Central America.

#### BRIEFS

LOW INCOME PEOPLE AIDED--By means of the National Housing Bank and the national reconstruction committee the government will allocate 50 million quetzales for the program to establish lots with public services in zone 18 on the road to the Atlantic. It will also use 40 million quetzales already negotiated with the World Bank for projects to help low income people. [Text] [PAO30035 Guatemala City Radio Nuevo Mundo in Spanish 1200 GMT 2 May 80]

SOCIALIST PARTY JUSTIFIES ACTIONS, KIDNAPPING INVOLVEMENT

PA102012 San Pedro SULA TIEMPO in Spanish 1 May 80 p 10

[Paid advertisement by the Socialist Party of Honduras National Directorate entitled: "The Socialist Party Refers to the Alleged Plot"]

[Text] Members and sympathisers of our political organization and the Socialist Party itself have been involved in the recent attempt to kidnap the Texaco vice president, forcing us to clear our position before the Honduran people.

The Socialist Party is struggling for the establishment of socialism in Honduras as the only system in which it is possible to have an accelerated and independent development of our country within a political, economic and social system which is truly democratic.

The Socialist Party of Honduras aspires to reach that goal struggling for the right we have to defend our own views, more so when they coincide with the current state of development of our society. We are carrying out this struggle in a peaceful way hoping that our rights are recognized by the laws of the country, but without surrendering in the least our doctrine, program and principles. This is our attitude despite the fact that the experience obtained through history shows us that any successful attempt through elections has failed. A recent case is the Salvador Allende government, which obtained the people's support in the elections and was violently overthrown by the criminal and treacherous Chilean Armed Forces, which is a docile instrument of the dominant class and U.S. imperialism. This historic experience also teaches us that we must be ready to face similar situations.

The Socialist Party is not responsible for the alleged action carried out by our comrades and sympathisers, but neither does it criticize it or much less condeum it. It is considered the party's duty to show its real and material solidarity with the comrades involved.

The Socialist Party neither criticizes nor condemns the comrades and sympathizers who tried to give a blow to a transnational enterprise which

constantly holds a knife to the jugular of the fatherland, while the armed forces government with amazing docility bordering in complicity surrenders to blackmail and pressures exerted by Texaco-demanding that prices be increased, and at the same time cllowing in a brutal way Texaco's order to subdue the workers by the use of military force. How much will the bribe add that Texaco will offer during the secret negotiations in progress and in the future?

The Socialist Party accuses public security forces of trying to involve our comrades and sympathisers in the alleged plot to sabotage the elections by blowing up bridges and other actions. This is nothing but a dirty maneuver to cover up for what every Honduran is aware of, that is, the electoral fraud, a real attempt on the people's will by the corrupt military clique and the National Party, but whom at the last moment were forced to step back because of the people's increasing support which could have had unforeseen consequences. This maneuver can only serve to twist the just and correct exercise of justice and to make possible a juridical monstrosity.

The Socialist Party accuses public security forces of torture and other filegal actions punishable by local and international laws and of applying inhuman procedures such as torture in the presence of close relatives.

The Socialist Party accuses the chiefs of public security forces of contempt of the highest judicial authorities in the country according to personal testimony submitted and accepted by the Supreme Court of Justice.

The Socialist Party also denounces the accomplice attitude of the Spanish ambassador, who is opposed to the most elemental pricriples of asylum and who is solicitous and agreeable; he did not hesitate to invite the repressive forces to go into the embassy to arrest a Honduran who was only seeking asylum.

Tegucigalpa, 29 April 1980

Marco V. Carias, Socialist Party National Directorate

## NICARAGUAN SCHOOL NATIONALIZATION QUESTIONED

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 12 Apr 80 p 7

[Editorial: "And Now, the Schools"]

[Text] When the Sandinist National Liberation Pront (FSLN), steadfastly supported by the United States, the Andean countries, Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama and, less visibly though no less certainly, Cuba, took power, there was great enthusiasm in Latin America because people thought that the old authoritarian dynasty was going to be replaced by a modern, open and pluralist democracy.

What has happened so far, however, has given the former allies a great deal to think about, to the extent that the distance between Sandinism and the nations of the Cartagena Agreement is becoming increasingly conspicuous.

Developments have included rigid control over the press, the de facto nationalization of television, a wide range of confiscations, the slow but steady organization of a police state through the Sandinist Defense Committees (CDS) and, most recently, the so-called nationalization of private achools.

In this regard, a UTI dispatch stated that "Education Minister Carlos Tunnerman announced today (10 April 1980) that all Nicaraguan private schools would be nationalized before the new school year begins."

Tunnerman said that "thus, religious schools, upon being nationalized, become public and free-of-charge, under the new educational regulations of the revolutionary state; this is part of our scheduled social program." It was not immediately disclosed how many schools would be affected, but most private educational institutions are run by religious orders.

Used correctly, the word "nationalization" means a conversion from foreign to national control. In the case of educational institutions, it would be properly used to refer, for example, to an American, French, British or German school that would, by decree, become Nicaraguan.

On the other hand, when a school is private and becomes public, we are talking about a conversion to government ownership. The government, as concentrated in the state (and in the case at hand, run by the FSLN), has decided to replace private with public enterprise, arguing that this is of benefit to society.

To what extent, however, do the students, the main participants in the teaching-learning process, come out ahead when such a move is taken?

Quantitatively speaking, there are benefits. Since they are free-of-charge, schools can take in many young people who were originally unable to afford such schooling.

Qualitatively speaking, there are obvious drawbacks. What some people have insisted on calling elitist schools are that way because they have the finest teachers, the most advanced laboratories, the most productive teaching methods, etc.

But when these schools become public, politics boldly enters the picture. Teaching positions and administrative posts are hunded out to "friends" of the government, and in a word, what used to be scientific and technical education turns into indoctrination for the benefit of the revolution or the party.

Hence, we cannot examine a move like this from one angle only. We must view it in its various manifestations and from different standpoints, to determine whether it is good or bad for the country.

Furthermore, the UPI dispatch contains an interesting detail. It says that most of the schools to be taken over by the government "are run by teligious orders."

Everyone is aware that the church of Nicaragus played an extremely important role in the struggle against the Somoza family. The archbishop of Managua, Monsignor Miguel Obando y Bravo, had a preponderant role in the opposition and with his homilies and Vatican and international ties helped to promote the feeling that the struggle in Dario's homeland was not between Marxism and authoritarianism but between people who yearned for freedom and a backward and oppressive regime that was denying them that freedom.

Thus, no one thought that the new government would promote the spread of atheism or a struggle against the Christian faith. It so happens, however, that the schools subject to government takeover are, in fact, parochial.

What will the first practical result of this be? The church, which took part in the battle against Somoza, will be left out of the educational sphere and, hence, unable to spread its message there.

But isn't the government trying to provide guaranteed free education at these schools? The government could have done this quite successfully by merely subsidizing them, whereby they would receive from the state the monthly tuition payments that students were making. This would have insured quality, and free-of-charge, education.

The intention, however, seems to be otherwise: to gradually fill all of the sectors of society with the state's increasingly bureaucratic and domineering machine, until the time comes when free enterprise has been whittled away to nothing.

This goal has already been accomplished in more than half of the economy: 70 percent of the country's enterprises are state-run, 65 percent of which was seized from Somoza plus an additional number that the government has taken de facto control of. With regard to the mass media, only one independent newspaper remains, LA PRENSA, owned by the Chamorro family, which is under heavy pressure.

We already see what is happening with schools. Whose turn will it be next?

Perhaps the Reconstruction Board, which one of these days they will thank for having helped to conceal the regime's real nature.

We wish that we were mistaken, but the decree nationalizing education (it has already been officially announced) clearly indicates the government's come, which unquestionably is not in the direction of freedom. On the contrary, it leads to a closed, secretive, totalizarian society under whose yoke it is not at all impossible that the seed of revolution will once again suddenly sprout....

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## POLITICAL LEADERS ON NEW COUNCIL OF STATE

PPSC's Macias Remarks

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 21 Apr 80 p 3

[Interview with the secretary general of the Christian Social People's Party (PPSC), Edgard Macias; date and place not given]

[Text] ANN [New Nicaraguan News Agency]: What is your opinion on the Council of State?

Edgard Macias: The Council of State will bring together a team of Nicaraguans who are going to undertake a series of activities that are extremely necessary to move the Nicaraguan Revolution forward. In this connection, I feel that it is important to have a positive concept of the Council of State as an organization that has been designed to take care of a series of important activities in our national life and that it and the Government Junta are going to be the two major organizations in the country's formal structure. They are going to guide the revolutionary process, backed by all forces and by the Nicaraguan masses who have been working in this direction.

ANN: In your judgment, what organizations should not be part of the new structure of the Council of State and why?

Edgard Macias: Two, basically, the ones that we all know have done a series of harmful things: the Workers Front and the Communist Party, which through their actions have made it known that they are not interested in operating within the revolution, only in systematically opposing the Reconstruction Government. I said that we must have a positive concept of the Council of State, which means that it should have a positive attitude towards our national problems. Logically, organizations that have shown that they employ a series of methods that are harmful to the country's interests cannot be on the Council of State. Only those organizations that have a positive view of their role on the Council of State have a place on it.

ANN: How do you think the Council of State will go about drafting bills?

Edgard Macias: The Council of State has to draw up its own bylaws and must be structured, we might say, in accordance with the guidelines that more or less apply to congresses or parliamenta in various councies. In this regard, it has to set up an internal board of directors with its coordinating post or chairman and its secretarists, and form working commissions on which all of the country's sectors, both political and mass organizations, are really represented. Worker organizations must be represented in particular on them, because this is primarily a revolution of and for the workers, who must play an extremely active role in drafting bills, so that they reflect their interests, their concerns and their view of the problems of the Nicaraguan people, most of whom are rural and city workers.

ANN: What meaning does the establishment of a Council of State have?

Edgard Macias: It means a step forward for the process. The Council of State is part of the blueprint that was drawn up for what the Nicaraguan Revolution ought to be, at least during its initial phase. The council is going to share official leadership with other comrades. It will expand the revolution's leadership teams and become a tool for the country's democratization and for a positive discussion of national problems. The concerns of Nicaragua's various sectors, as represented by the country's many political and grass roots organizations, are going to be brought up in the Council of State.

Therefore, the Council of State will not be a body like Somoza's Chamber of Deputies and Senators, in which the representatives did not represent anybody. We all know that the deputies and senators got there by buying their way in or through favoritism and privileges under the corrupt Somoza system and that they used to do whatever they felt like doing or whatever was in their interests. This is no longer going to be the case, because the Council of State is going to be made up of representatives of organizations with links to the country's various sectors, both political and grass roots, that are wreatling daily with the many problems besetting our people.

ANN: What is your opinion on the increase in Council of State members?

Edgard Macias: The important thing is quality, not quantity. In any case, if an expansion is necessary, the matter should be given a more in-depth look to see whether, in fact, the council should include other organizations that were not scheduled to be on it but that are regarded as important enough to be. During this phase of the revolution, I repeat, it is important to bring in the widest possible range of the country's sectors. The only ones that should be kept out of the Council of State are the organizations with no intention of

contributing, merely of thwarting, interfering with, holding up or impairing the development of the revolution.

#### Commander Nunez Remarks

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 Apr 80 p 3

[Interview with Commander of the Revolution Carlos Nunez; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] How is the establishment of the Council of State important within the revolutionary process?

[Answer] A number of sectors unquestionably expressed their concerns during the first few weeks after our victory regarding the establishment of the Council of State, because it was part of the revolution's political program and one of the commitments that the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] and a series of organizations had made to each other. It was on this basis that the FSLN and the National Reconstruction Government itself made their views public and pointed out a series of changes, of new situations that had cropped up with our triumph and that necessitated the short-term postponement of the Council of State. In this connection, the National Reconstruction Government said that it would be installed on 4 May.

In my way of looking at it, the Council of State is important in that it is a continuation of the democratic process that the revolution is pursuing, in which it is gradually establishing a revolutionary order and creating the instruments needed to maintain that order, which our people's struggle has given rise to. In this sense, the Council of State is going to round out part of this process because it will be a very beneficial instrument for the National Reconstruction Government Junta, precisely in that it will have an instrument that will enable it to better control the country's destiny, to legislate better and to attend to a series of laws that have yet to be drafted, as long as the Council of State is in keeping with the overall needs of the revolution.

Now then, when it comes to setting up the Council of State, you cannot just refer back to a previous commitment, because there have been delays. The council was supposed to include the MPU [United People's Movement] and the FAC [Broad Opposition Front], but because of the way the war developed, the changes that were made, the maneuvers that American imperialism tried internationally to ruin our struggle, and the very nature of the people's struggle, which was massive and nationwide, the fronts practically disappeared when we won. The PSLN and other new organizations emerged, and others disappeared. The MPU, the FPN [National Patriotic Front] and the FAO disappeared in practice,

and their places were taken by the organizations that emerged in the wake of our victory as the forms of expression of our people's combat. I am talking about the organizations that we know today. They have national characteristics, both politically and perhaps historically, for example the CDS [Sandinist Defense Committees] and other organizations.

In discussing the Council of State, we should try to define its objectives, its nature, its relationship with the current governmental power, the National Reconstruction Government Junta, its internal workings or organization, and fifthly, we have to point out exactly what organizations are going to make up the Council of State. Obviously, all existing organizations or groups are going to be part of the Council of State. All of our nationwide mass organizations have to have input, as well as the church, COSEP [Higher Council of Private Enterprize], the FSLN and the organizations that are part of the bloc. But we also have to find out whether other groups should take part, even though they are part of the right wing, middle-class segments, etc, etc. The FSLN, at least, feels that the organizations that I mentioned above ought to be represented, but we also have to sound out the views of other organizations.

[Question] What do you think the purpose of the Council of State ought to be?

[Answer] First of all, my idea would be that instead of trying to imitate the chambers or congresses that the country used to have and that were merely a front for the dictatorship, the Council of State must be flexible and streamlined enough to help the National Reconstruction Government Junta to perform its functions better, to govern better and to help create a series of laws and measures that will further consolidate the state that we have been cleaning up and that will also enable the views of the various sectors, the various organizations on the Council of State to be heard nationwide. all of these efforts boil down maybe to this basic attitude: instead of being a parliamentary arrangement where sectors are going to or ose each other, one wanting to reverse the process and the other wanting to spur it on, the Council of State should see to it that the revolution becomes stronger, gets better leadership, learns from its mistakes and turns these mistakes into major gains all over the state that we are building.

In my way of looking at it, that show one of the goals of the Council of State. It is going to have chance either to launch a counterrevolution or push the revolution forward, either set the revolution back or continue the gains that it has been making. The Council of State, in close coordination with the National Feccustruction

Government Junta, must cause the revolution to make a big qualitative leap forward in this regard. The council will be a step forward in what is called political pluralism, not only because it is going to have the input of other forces and other efforts, but also because in one way or another the Council of State is going to reflect political pluralism, the right of the country's various sectors to express themselves freely, a right that people often try to curtail. But political pluralism must also be the channel through which the Council of State performs its functions and does what it was created to do. These are some of my ideas, but of course the work remains to be done and discussed so that we can clearly see all viewpoints about what the Council of State should be like.

PSN's Sanchez Sancho Remarks

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 Apr 80 p 3

[Interview with Luis Sanchez Sancho, the secretary general of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN); date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] What is your concept of the Council of State?

[Answer] Let us first bear in mind that new conditions have been created in the country, that the country is marked by conditions and circumstances that are completely different from the ones that existed when the Council of State was designed, conceived and proposed. This means that, in the first place, the country has undergone a political revolution since 19 July, and as a backdrop to this political revolution, which totally rearranged the class forces in government, a social and economic revolution has also been going on. There is no way that the formation, makeup and purposes of the Council of State can be tackled without taking into account the new conditions in the country since 19 July.

Moreover, since IP July there has been a significant regrouping of social, political and economic forces in the country. New mass organizations have emerged, such as the ATC [Agricultural Workers Association], the CST [Sandinist Workers Federation], 19 July Sandinist Youth, the UNE [National Students Union (?)], in short, new grass roots organizations with the backing of the masses that are playing a very important role in the revolution, a role that must be institutionalized to safeguard and benefit the revolution. On the other hand, other organizations that were taken into consideration when the Council of State was originally planned have disappeared or grown weak or lost all of their influence and political and social presence in the country.

Among the organizations that have disappeared are the FAO and the Constitutionalist Liberal Movement, to cite two specific cases. Since they no longer exist, there is no way and no need for them to be taken into account in forming the Council of State. Moreover, such political groups are no longer suited to current conditions in Nicaragua. Thirdly, the basic point is that the Council of State should be formed in accordance with the concept of plurality but while keeping in mind the existence of the revolution. All political actions and institutional measures that are or should be taken in the country must have as their frame of reference the problems of our revolutionary process, in other words, supporting, backing and helping the revolution. Thus, all ferces must have their own active roles by carrying out their initiatives, applying their know-how and putting forth their efforts in an organization such as the Council of State. And naturally, all of the sectors (very small ones, of course) that are against the revolution, that erect obstacles to the revolution and that oppose the goals set by the revolution, cannot be taken into account. Since they are against the revolution, there is no way that they can be part of one of the revolution's organizations. This is a totally clear-cut issue as far as we are concerned. In addition, the Council of State must not be a formal legislative body in the traditional sense of the word, in keeping with the liberal, bourgeois, democratic concept that prevails in most Latin American countries.

The Council of State has to be a flexible body with enough authority and capacity to work together with the National Reconstruction Government Junta and to help carry out its tasks and programs and achieve its objectives, which have been drawn up as a support for all other institutions and agencies of economic, political and social power in this country. So then, in examining this important and meaningful issue for the revolution's interests, we are beginning to shape a clear-cut political, organizational and strategic concept of the Council of State, so that we will be prepared to pursue these principles and objectives, which, I repeat, are to uphold, defend and help strengthen the Nicaraguan revolutionary process.

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# PASTORA SAYS STATE COUNCIL REAFFIRMS FSLN PLEDGE

PA071811 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0232 GMT 5 May 80

[Speech by Commander Eden Pastora, deputy defense minister, during the inaugural session of the State Council at the Camilo Ortega Saavedra Civic Complex in Managua--live]

[Excerpt] When the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] launched its final military offensive against the genocidist Somozist dictatorship, it promised to give the people the freedom and democracy which throughout history had been denied them; it also committed itself through a political promise made to the Nicaraguan people, to be a hope for the people of Latin America and the rest of the world, in promoting a democratic revolutionary process with the people's participation in which the Nicaraguans would truly be the ones shaping and assuming the responsibility of their destiny. The creation and installation of the state council legalizes the people's participation in the government and revolutionary process. This reaffirms the FSLN historic decision to fulfill the liberationist and democratic aspiration, of our people; hoping with this to open the way for the people of Latin America and of the world to find the solution to their problems.

The state council inaugurated today is not only the reaffirmation of the pledge and honor of the revolutionaries who make the FSLN and the fulfillment of the people's aspirations, but it is also a genuine democratic experience we know will contribute to other peoples' historic struggles to find the way for their liberation.

A total of 29 political, economic and social organizations are represented in the state council. For the first time in our history, the state council institutionalizes the participation of workers, peasants and other sectors of the nation in positions to decide their destiny. The state council becomes a genuine and open forum of national dialogue in which city and rural workers, manual and nonmanual workers, businessmen and workers in general, can prove that when they are in a position to manage national affairs, the nation's interests and reconstruction are placed above all else. This is the nation which was devastated by imperialist and Somozist pillaging and theft and by the war promoted by the genocidist dictatorship.

For those of us, who have been honored with the confidence of our organizations, it is an obligation to be faithful representatives of the people's interest and aspirations. In the manner, we expect the state council to become a state institution that will help to strengthen, broaden and develop the national unity which the FSLN has promoted. [applause]

We want you to know that the counselors who are members of the state council and who beginning today share with the junta of the government of national reconstruction the duty and responsibility of deciding the main steps of the reconstruction government, are fully aware of the responsibility we are assuming. We are aware that the state council is a conquest of the people in their aspirations to participate in state's affairs. We are sure it will allow a frank exchange among all the members of the Nicaraguan family in analyzing the main problems affecting us. It will also make it possible for all Nicaraguans to join efforts to obtain through our work the best results for their interests which will be a priority in our working sessions. We want at the moment of this installation, after hearing the report on the junta of the government of national reconstruction activities, to acknowledge the official receipt of this report which will serve us as basis to continue our work in the future.

PSD ISSUES DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 30 Mar 80 supplement pp 6-7

[Text] Social Democratic Party

Declaration of Principles and Platform

## Preface

The Social Democratic Party [PBD] has been unable, owing to circumstances that are well known, to make public, until today 30 March, its Declaration of Principles and Platform. In consequence of its having carried on a constant and consistent struggle, at times resoundingly, at times silently, in defense of the Governing National Reconstruction Junta's program and of the democratic principles that have for so long constituted the Nicaraguan people's most profound aspirations, the PBD has succeeded, in the 7 months since we founded our political party on 23 August 1979, in bringing together around itself a large popular mass that responds to its political views.

The PSD is growing day by day and looms on our nation's political horizon as a logical alternative for those who desire to better their way of life without having to find themselves deprived of their fundamental freedoms.

We reiterate once again our unbreakable intent, despite our gratuitous detractors, to stay within the bounds of this Revolution which we consider must remain authentically Nicaraguan, devoid of hatreds among Nicaraguans, pluralist and eminently Christian, to facilitate the national reconciliation that will guarantee the enjoyment of a lasting peace for our people.

We invite all Nicaraguans to read attentively our postulates, which are inspired: firstly, by a long struggle sustained by our militants against the Somozist dynasty, and secondly, by the desire that our Revolution unfold within the most propitious climate of freedom and respect for human rights. Those who share in these concerns can be sure they have in our organization the alternative they have been awaiting.

After many years of tenacious struggle, civic as well as armed, he licaraquan people have achieved the culmination of one of their most che isned ideals; the overthrow of the Somozist dynasty's dictatorship. This when have without parallel in our history has been the result of the unity of the our couple, since if we tally all that has happened we come to the our one clusion that there is no sector whatever of our population—except, of course, the Somozists and their genecidal Guardia—that did not contribute in one way or another to the national liberation.

Today we have a free Nicaragua without Somozism, brought about by the combined effort of all Nicaraguans worthy of the name, of all of us. that is, who valued placing the supreme national interest above the base laterests of the Somozist power group; by the heroic resistance of the civilian population, which, subjected to the most cruel bombardments, did not yield to the genocide's terror tactics; by the workers, peasants and state its, who in temporarily abandoning their tools and their studies showed trey understood that our country comes above all else; by the free journalists who preferred to return to the age of the catacombs rather than accept the trampling under foot of the freedom of expression; by the opposition political parties, the workers unions and the civic and religious assecutions which, overcoming past weaknesses, refused to serve as props under the corrupt dictatorship; by the honest businessmen, industrialists and murchants, who preferred honest bankruptcy of their businesses to continued partaking of the system of the antipatriots; and of course by the extraordinary sacrifices of our martyrs who, from General of Free Men Aug sto Cesar Sandino, through the movements of 1939, 1944, April 1954, 1959 (Olama and the Mollejones), 1960 (11 November), 1967 (22 January) and Pancasan, 1978, the crime perpetrated on the Martyr of Public Preedons, Dr Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, and through the thousands of combatants of all political persuasions and ideologies, who, as the armed vanguard of the people, under the banner of the PSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front], offered their noble blood to make possible this Pree Nicaragua of which we Nicaraguans today all feel proud.

We consider it necessary in this struggle to also cite the backing of international solidarity without which this triumph would have been extremely difficult. Our gratitude will therefore be undying to the probles and governments of Cuba, headed by Commander Pidel Castro; Venezuela, with Luis Herrera Campins and Carlos Andres Perez; Panama, with Aristedes Royo and General Omar Torrijos; Costa Rica, with Rodrigo Carazo Odio and Jone Figueres Perrer: Dominican Republic, with Antonio Guzman; and Mexico, with Jose Lopez Portillo. Our gratitude will also be undying to all the governments of the Andean Pact, which together with other nations of the OAS Organization of American States], proved themselves equal to the circumstances and, interpreting the true feelings involved, rejected the intervention being proposed by other countries against our legitimate national interests. We must moreover not forget the brotherly aid we received, in the most difficult moments of our struggle, from the Social Democratic International, a movement with which we shall establish ties of close and fraternal friendship.

Today, when we can proclaim to the four corners of the earth that we now have a Nicaragua free of Somoziam, we wish to honor the ineluctable commitment we have undertaken toward our martyrs, and toward our present and future generations, in founding the PSD.

For, we Nicaraguans did not struggle solely for the overthrow of the Somozist dictatorship, but for that and much more:

We atruggled for the installation in Nicaragua of an authentic democracy with free, fair and honest elections, so that after this transition government the people will be able to decide through the ballot box the system they prefer; we struggled for the freedom of labor unions with equality of opportunity for all; we struggled for full and unrestricted freedom of expression; for an end to privileged classes in our country, except children; for the existence of jobs that raise the levels of production and of social progress. And based on our social democratic principles, we reject any totalitarian notion tending to create a sole political party or a sole workers organization, or tending to orient the army toward the service of a sole political institution, no matter how important may have been its contribution to our national liberation. We shall go forward quided by the democratic concept expressed by General of Free Men Augusto Cesar Sandino when he said: "Nicaragua must not be the property of any specific group or party," and by that which was the motto of Dr Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, whom we all recall openly proclaiming in our public places: "Nicaragua will again be a republic!"

We are social democrats by virtue of the vast social democratic horizons we intend to open to the people, in an environment of pluralism and freedom, the goals that are defined in our Declaration of Principles and in our Platform.

The PSD, born today 23 August 1979 to public life, cognizant of the need we Nicaraguans have to enter upon the task, as vast as it is urgent, of the reconstruction, offers from this moment on our support to the National Reconstruction Government Junta and to the Sandinist Front Joint Leadership in so patriotic an undertaking. We all know how the genocidal tyrant left the martyr cities of Masaya, Leon, Matagalpa, Esteli, Rivas and Managua, and the state of total bankruptcy in which he left the country's economy. Par from wanting in any way to becloud its development plans, we shall be committed at all times to the principle that these must not be allowed to suffer the least delay. But we must also state categorically that we shall maintain our institutional independence and our own political identity permanently watchful that the principles for which our people struggled are maintained whole and operative and that this Revolution, which has cost us so many sacrifices, shall not stray from democratic norms, which we are certain is the common aspiration of the vast majority of Nicaraguans.

Lastly, we call upon all Nicaraguans convinced of the need to keep this Revolution within democratic channels to immediately join the PSD, born in the arms of our youth to struggle shoulder to shoulder with its people in their legitimate aspirations to social progress within freedom.

Por A Revolution Within Freedom!

The PSD

Declaration of Principles

The PSD is a /democratic, anti-imperialist and revolutionary/ [in boldface] organization that meks the total freedom of the citizen and therefore mets for itself the priority goal of eliminating the exploitation of man by man and of man by the state.

The PSD is resolved; to eradicate poverty, illiteracy and social gaps, creating a community of free and united men who will excel by means of their own efforts and of state support, with the common good, however, at all times the constant aim. It seeks the satisfaction of human needs within a pluralistic order of full public freedoms. It advocates a number of revolutionary measures designed to guarantee to each Nicaraguan an honorable job, an assured income in case of unemployment, and adequate protection for himself and his family in case of old age or disability.

The PSD pursues the freeing of our people from dependency on a minority that owns and controls the means of production. It favors all manner of structural changes that can accelerate the general progress of all Nicaraguans. Its aims are based on the principles of political democracy, economic democracy, social democracy and national self-determination. It advocates, among other objectives, total agrarian reform, industrialization, social reforms, generalization of public and private property, and the development of consumer and producer cooperatives. It is dedicated to full employment, increased productivity; social security in the urban and rural sectors; and equitable distribution of national income.

To attain these ends, production must be planned in the interest of all the people. This planning is incompatible with the concentration of power in the hands of privileged minorities; it demands an effective democratic management of the economy which we therefore consider essential to the overcoming of our current state of underdevelopment and foreign dependency. Scientific and technical progress have provided humanity with an increased capability for prosperity. For this reason, prosperity cannot be left to the mercy of economic laissez-faire; rather, it must be systematically planned in accordance with human needs. Planning must respect the rights of private initiative whenever the latter are not opposed to the legitimate interests of the majority.

The PSD strives for the abstituon of all forms of legal, economic and political discriminations between men and women; among social groups; between city and rural area; among regional or racial groups. It recognizes the right or existence of all political parties, of all workers unions and of all civic, religious and cultural organizations that strive for social well-being. It believes firmly that peace must be based on respect for; the rights of others; the full enjoyment of justice; all those conquests that have improved the human condition; freedom of choice, of expression, of movement and of association. It makes its own, in this regard, the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN), the American Declaration of the Rights and Obligations of Man (OAS); the declaration on elimination of discrimination against women; the declaration on the rights of children; and the declaration on the protection of all persons against toture and other cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment or penalties.

The PSD intends to achere to the general policy lines of the Social Democratic International, inasmuch as this movement, worldwide in scope, respects the principle of the absolute right to autonomy of each country in the management of its own political affairs and does not demand a strict uniformity of philosophical views. Social democracy is international, because it seeks to free all mankind from economic and political oppression; because it recognizes that no nation can resolve its economic and social problems isolatedly; because it seeks to put at the disposal of all citizens the means of raising its cultural level and to stimulate the creative aspirations of the human spirit; and because it strives to free all human beings from fear and anxiety, which are inseparable from all kinds of economic and political insecurity. Social democracy's principal enemies are totalitarianism, parasitic exploitation by national financial oligarchies, and neocolonialist exploitation by foreign capital.

Our PSD is solidary with all peoples subjected to dictatorships, whether these be fascist, communist, or of any other form, and will be constant and consistent in its efforts to win their freedom.

It also rejects any and all types of imperialism or forms of domination of any nation by another.

Membership in the PSD is open to all Nicaraguans, regardless of religious creed, race or social condition, who, not having participated in the criminal actions or the almines committed by the Somozist dictatorship, decide to join our political organization, agreeing to this Declaration of Principles, Platform and Bylaws.

For a Revolution within Freedom! Democracy Yes, Totalitarianism No!

The PSDI

### The PSD Platform

- I. Political Democracy
- 1) Total democratization of the country with the participation of all its ideological sectors except those advocating a return to the corrupt and genocidal Somozist dictatorship.
- 2) Unrestricted freedom of expression and dissemination of ideas through the private and collective communications media.
- 3) Electoral freedom that permits the people to elect their authorities periodically by means of direct and secret ballot and without restrictions of any kind. He will strive to win all the guarantees that may be necessary to ensure that the popular will shall be respected before, during and after the electoral process, which must be free, fair and honest. Political pluralism guarantees the free play of democracy.
- 4) Civil service: Implementation of a law providing that public employees be appointed by virtue of their capabilities and dedication to service of the people and that they not be subject to the dictates of parties or any political organization that exercises the power of the state. Nepotism shall be eradicated.
- 5) Guaranteed succession in the exercise of public power and inviolability of the principle of nonreelection. Every effort is to be made to ensure that anyone elected president of the republic after promulgation of the law shall not have the right to again become a candidate for that position until 10 years after completion of the term for which he received the majority vote of the nation.
- 6) Equality of all citizens before the law regardless of birth, social condition, sex, creed or race. The right of every human being to a private life safeguarded against any arbitrary intervention whatever by the state.
- 7) Freedom of education, association and of movement anywhere within or outside the country.
- 8) Respect of the human rights designated in the documents referred to in our Declaration of Principles.
- 9) Administrative honesty: Promulgation of a law on probity that will guarantee honesty in the management and administration of public funds.
- 10) Municipal autonomy and direct popular election of the mayor of the capital city.

- II. Economic Democracy
- 1) Economic planning in the interest of all the people, with the goal of overcoming our current state of underdevelopment and dependency.
- 2) Respect of private initiative, when and as long as it fulfills its social function and does not oppose the general interests of the nation.
- 3) Conservation and rational use of the national wealth and effective incorporation of the Atlantic coast in the national development plan.
- 4) A total agrarian reform that shall transform radically the rural situation, raise the standard of living of the peasantry and guarantee that the land belongs to those who work it. A development plan shall be implemented that, in addition to providing land ownership, education, health services, technical assistance and credits to the peasants, will pursue the following objectives: a) growth of national production; b) elimination of rural unemployment, providing permanent employment to the peasantry; c) diversification of agricultural production; d) promotion and stimulation of the livestock industry; e) achievement of improved well-being of the rural population; f) creation of essential conditions for industrial development by increasing the consumption capacity of the peasantry.
- 5) Industrialization: Considering the disastrous state in which the Somozist dynasty left Nicaraguan industry, the social democratic state shall contribute directly with the enterprises to overcoming the causes hindering their recovery or normal development. Industrial and administrative decentralization designed to favor the country's economic development will be instituted and hindrances affecting exports by producers will be removed.
- 6) A commercial policy that conforms to the national interests. Control of prices and quality of consumer goods, adopting measures against speculation and usury. Regulation of foreign trade as well, controlling the import of luxury goods.
- 7) Regulation of foreign capital investments to ensure national participation. Regulation of participation to avoid affecting domestic producers: private as well as state.
- 8) Implementation of a fair and equitable tax reform designed to eliminate the indirect taxes on primary consumer goods and to prevent evasion of taxes on capital and income.
- 9) Compulsory restructuring and periodic reviews of the Central American Common Market, and cooperation in its development in accordance with the interests of all sectors of the Central American peoples and not for the exclusive benefit of its foreign investors.

10) Abolition of monopolies, cartels and trusts, and institution of equal opportunities on agricultural, commercial and industrial activities with a view to ensuring that private, mixed and state enterprises can operate within a sound competitive framework.

## III. Social Democracy

- 1) Full, pluralistic and democratic freedom of labor. The right to work that will guarantee to every able Nicaraguan a dignified job and fair remuneration. In addition, workers in the public sector as well as the private must be guaranteed the rights: to vacations; to strike; to unremovability of labor leaders from their jobs for labor union reasons; to adjustment of wages and salaries in accordance with cost of living increases; and to economic security for citizens unable to work because of age, illnes or unemployment.
- 2) Unrestricted freedom of religious worship permitting all persons to manimanifest their religious beliefs publicly or privately.
- 3) A statute for the teaching profession that guarantees permanent work to all its members, the right to organize freely, the right to fair remuneration and retirement pay equal to the the last salary earned.
- 4) Pull employment: The PSD will strive for full employment and for the protection of the entire population under a broad program of social security and well-being that includes the urban as well as the rural populations. It will also strive to guarantee workers equitable participation in the profits of enterprises and will advocate co-management of the latter.
- 5) A national housing plan that would assure every Nicaraguan family of a roof commensurate with human dignity. Promulgation of a standing law on tenancy that regulates rental rates for the benefit of tenants and based on the value of the property. After 25 years of renting a housing unit, paying the corresponding monthly rentals and occupying it as a family residence, the tenant would become the owner of that unit.
- 6) A public health plan the objective of which will be to eradicate endemic diseases and prevent epidemics, devoting special attention to preventive medicine, increasing the number of hospitals and clinics and of health centers, providing them with sufficient and necessary surgical equipment, and maintaining strict control on the fabrication and prices of medicines. We advocate the socialization of medical practice.
- 7) An educational program that will pursue the following objectives: a) total eradication of illiteracy; b) free primary, secondary and university education; c) development of technical vocational training; d) an increased number of foreign scholarships for students with inadequate

financial resources who demonstrate an interest in contributing to the country's economic development, in professions and specialties that are not offered locally and that are needed by the nation; e) an increased budget for university education and strengthening of the teaching and administrative autonomy of the UNAN National Autonomous University of Nicaragua.

- 8) Judicial system: Autonomy of administration and organization of justice, and reorganization of the penitentiary system with a view to rehabilitation and social reintegration of those who have broken the law.
- 9) Protection of women, eliminating all kinds of political, economic and cultural discrimination against women and encouraging their contribution in all fields for the development of the nation.
- 10) Protection of children, ensuring that mothers will have adequate nutrition during pregnancy and that children will not undergo hardships that impede their normal development. Programs of vaccinations and treatments of diseases will be continuous and permanent. Orphanages and day care centers for working mothers will be created, and parks and children's recreation centers must be built. Under social security, the social democratic state will ensure that every Nicaraguan child and youth is guaranteed nutrition and education to the age of 18 and will offer all possible aid to their professional or occupational training.

## IV. National Self-Determination

- 1) Effective defense of our national wealth, interests, integrity, dignity and sovereignty. Adherence to the principle of nonintervention in the relations between states and of the self-determination of peoples.
- 2) Compulsory review of all contracts with foreign companies engaged in the exploitation of our natural resources, nationalizing those that it is in our national interest to nationalize.
- 3) Promote the political and economic integration of Latin America.
- 4) Maintain worthy and independent postures in international organizations, seeking guaranteed rights for the peoples of the Third World and the establishment of a new world economic order.
- 5) Establishment of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with allcountries with which ours deems it appropriate to do so, regardless of their socioeconomic systems and with no constraints other than those of mutual respect and interests.
- 6) control of the activities of multinational companies, conditioning them to the needs and laws of the country.

- 7) Defense in the international forums of the 200 mile limit of territorial waters.
- 8) Rejection of any and all types of imperialism, neocolonialism and forms of domination of one nation by another.
- 9) Solidarity with all peoples subjected to dictatorships, being at all times sympathetic to their efforts to regain their freedom.
- 10) Support of the Sandinist Popular Army in its efforts to improve and in its expressed intent to press the Revolution toward the attainment of an authentic democracy in Nicaragua.

Managua, Nicaragua, August 1978 [as published].

For A Revolution Within Preedom!

Democracy Yes! Totalitarianism No!

Managua, Nicaragua, August 1979 "Year of the Liberation"

The PSD

The PSD National Executive Board:

Wilfredo Montalvan, secretary general
Luis Rivas Leiva, political secretary
Rudy Ibarra S., secretary for organization
Carlos V. Rappaccioli, financial secretary
Guillermo Potoy A., communications secretary
Mario Alfaro Alvarado, secretary for political training
Pernando Chamorro R., secretary for international relations
Rodrigo Solorzano, secretary for legal documents and agreements
Adan Morales, secretary for union matters
Mauricio Manzanarez, secretary for social democratic youth

UN AMBASSADOR COMMENTS ON ANTI-NICARAGUAN CAMPAIGN

PAl12256 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 30 Apr 80 p 2

(ANN interview with Victor Tinoco, Nicaraguan ambassador to the United Nations, date and place not given)

[Text] ANN: How would you define the international balance of forces between imperialism and the progressive forces?

Tinoco: At this moment imperialism is launching a new strategy and evidencing its aggressive nature. For the past 6 months imperialism has been bringing to light a strategy it had been working on for approximately 2 years. As a result of the revolutionary movements in the world and as a result of the revolutionary defeats inflicted on imperialism during 1979 in Iran, Grenada and Nicaragua, imperialism has decided to set aside, and to forget, the famous human rights screen and has initiated a new warlike campaign. This includes an international cold war campaign, tough language, military threats, economic boycotts against nations and military maneuvers in the oceans, specifically in the Caribbean and other seas. In this regard we could say that for the past 6 months the human rights campaign—an artificial banner of the most reactionary U.S. sectors—has been unmasked and has now turned into an aggressive strategy. This dtrategy is simed at stopping the advance of the national liberation movements in various parts of the world.

ANN: What has been the reaction of the U.S. people in view of these maneuvers by the most reactionary U.S. sectors, such as the Pentagon and the CIA?

Tinoco: The U.S. people have the problem--that is they suffer the effects of the illness--that the manipulation of the news media, especially the radio, television and the press, represents. The news media is manipulated by the international bourgeoisie and capitalism which are powerful in the United States. The capacity that the international bourgeoisie has to manipulate the way the U.S. people think is tremendous. When the rightist tendency began to gain ground among the most reactionary forces in the United States, there were progressive sectors, both in the bourgeoisie

liberal sector and in the left, that attacked this new tendency of light-ialism's international policy. However, the maneuvering and manipulating in the news media has permitted the most reactionary forces of the W.S. right to create a warlike mentality propitious for the warlike actenures of the adventurous military men of the P tagon. However, despite the propaganda in millions of newspapers, the U.S. popular movement has not ceased trying to properly inform the people. Approximately 4 weeks ago they staged a rally in Washington that was attended by 30,000 persons, something very difficult to do in the United States. In that country never, or very rarely, more than 500 persons meet for political reasons. Nevertheless, the progressive forces were able to launch a campai, never strongly attack the new offensive--warlike policy of the Pentagon. Making the rally it was pointed out, among other things, that the U.S. people are not prepared to make war to further enhance the interests of Texaco, Lisso and the transnationals of international capital.

The U.S. people have tried to react. This is a difficult struggle being waged by the alert sectors against the giant propaganda apparatus that the U.S. bourgeoisie has at its disposal.

ANN: How do the transnationals news media manipulate the news about the Nicaraguan process and to what extent is that manipulation harming the Sandinist revolution?

Tinoco: They twist the Nicaraguan situation because of their interests, Definitely. However, it is interesting to note that the big U.S. news media has given no publicity in the United States to the political situations that have taken place here. It has not even publicized traitorous bourgoisie sectors' maneuvers such as the recent resignation of Alfonso louden. However, the Latin American news media has given this great publicity based on reports from transnational news agencies. There is an obvious political interest behind this. All the propaganda campaign surrounding the artificial crisis created in the past 5 days was aimed mainly at the Latin America's population and social sectors. They have not waged the campaign in the United States because they are not interested in that. However, they are interested in it reaching, for example, El Salvador, Guatemala, and the South American countries. There, with much propaganda about an alleged crisis, they were planning to create a negative image about the Nicara man revolutionary project, an image of stagnation. They were going to create an unacceptable image of the revolutionary process. This, of course has a political objective in Latin America: To create a barrier to the example that the Nicaraguan revolution represents. The crisis they (supposedly the private sectors separating themselves from the revolutionary process) want to create is simed at Latin America with the objective of creating distrust in the Latin American private sector and keeping this sector from developing alliances with revolutionary and popular movements.

This is truly a political campaign aimed at preserving the interests of U.S. imperialism in the Central American area and in Latin America.

ANN: Despite that campaign, what is Nicaragua's image internationally?

Tinoco: Despite that campaign, and as a result of the revolutionary process, of the great struggle and the loss of lives that the liberation war of the Nicaraguan people--led by the vanguard, the Sandinist National Liberation Front--represented, there is a well-defined attitude of respect toward Nicaragua abroad. There is clearly an awareness in Latin America and the world of the fact that our country, despite its small size and population, is a country with the capacity for self-determination and sovereignty. Because of this many international positions that could be considered in conflict with the point of view of some regimes, have been viewed with respect for our people when assumed by Nicaragua.

ANN: To what degree is there a campaign to discredit the Nicaraguan revolution among the imperialist powers of Europe?

Tinoco: A certain campaign against the Nicaraguan revolution really exists. They are trying to discredit its achievements and the revolutionary measures in favor of the workers, the peasants, the exploited masses. However, we could state that this campaign has not reached the dimension of a general and all-out propaganda effort against Nicaragua. We believe that the international forces of reaction have not been able to find support for waging a systematic, continuous and deep campaign [against Nicaragua].

I do not deny that propagandistically speaking the campaign against our country exists and that it is being promoted by the international forces of reaction. The campaign is strong, however, only in Central America and Latin America because of the political reasons we have mentioned.

# ANDEN COMMUNIQUE CONDEMNS SLAYING OF SALVADORAN TEACHER

PA100006 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 1730 GMT 9 May 80

[Text] In a communique issued this morning, the National Association of Nicaraguan Teachers [ANDEN] repudiated and condemned the killing of Nector Ramon Guardado, secretary of conflicts and one of the founders of the 21 July Salvadoran National Teachers Association [ANDES]. Unidentified persons killed Guardado in a downtown sector in San Salvador yesterday. Some 37 teachers have been killed in El Salvador so far this year.

Here is the text of the communique issued by ANDEN:

[Begin recording] From: ANDEN

TO: The Nicaraguan people, the Salvadoran people and the teachers of the world, whereas:

- 1. The killing of Hector Ramon Guardado, ANDES founder and secretary of conflicts, in a street in downtown San Salvador on 7 May is one more bit of evidence of the constant human rights violations by the civilian-military fascist dictatorship that is misruling the brother Salvadoran country.
- 2. The slaying of the martyr teacher brings to a tragic total of 38 teachers killed. They have shed their blood in the Salvadoran land thus evidencing the repression that the dictatorship--puppet of U.S. imperialism--is inflicting on the Salvadoran teachers and people.
- 3. The physical loss of Companero Guardado from the field of political struggle commits all the revolutionary organizations in the continent to denounce and report the daily barbarity that the Salvadoran people are experiencing.

### Therefore:

1. We lodge our most vigorous protest and express our rejection of the Salvadoran Government, holding it responsible for such a cruel murder. We denounce to the world the violations and tragic situation being experienced by the heroic Salvadoran people because of the civilian-military junta.

- 2. We decree 3 days of intensive solidarity work with the Salvadoran people.
- 3. We will send a delegation of teachers to the funeral of the companero martyr, Hector Ramon Guardado.
- 4. We urge all Latin American popular and revolutionary organisations to join in efforts of support and unity with the noble cause of the Salvadoran people. Issued in Managua on 8 May 1980. [End recording]

### BORGE: POLICE ARE NOT TO HISTREAT PRISONERS

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 17 Apr 80 pp 1, 12

[Text] At the inauguration of the internal literacy program of the Sandinist Police Corps, Commander Tonas Borge Martinez, the minister of the interior, clearly warned the members of the police force that they must not torture prisoners. "Do not mistreat a prisoner to get a confession out of him," he said at one point.

The head of the Interior Ministry, to which the Sandinist Police Corps is subordinate, came to inaugurate the Angela Morales Aviles Literacy Campaign, whose aim is to teach some 1,000 policemen how to read and write.

Other commanders came with Borge to the Ajax Delgado facilities where the political and cultural ceremony was held. Among them were Jose Valdivia, Rene Vivas Lugo, Lenin Cerna, Marcos Somarriba, Enrique Smith and Walter Ferrety.

Commander Marcos Somarribe initiated the ceremony, underscoring in his speech the qualities of the Sandinist Police and their determination to improve.

The next speaker was the commander of the Managua police force, Enrique Smith.

What Kind of Policemen

Commander Tomas Borge then spoke and urged the policemen to think about what kind of police agents they would like to have if they were ordinary civilians, office workers, laborers or peasant farmers. The policemen listened in silence.

"Picture in your mind how you would like the police force to be," Borge said. "If you were not policemen, how would you like the police force to be?" he asked.

Command r Tomas Borge's voice boomed out over the loudepeakers that had been affixed to a lamppost. "Treat citizens as you would like them to treat you if you were not policemen..."

He then pointed out that the police force has been undergoing changes, and his hope is that it will become much better over the next few months.

Applause and some shouts were heard when Minister Borge announced to them that before next 19 July our police force would be the best dressed in Latin America.

He also pointed out that the necessary efforts were being made to upgrade the technical level of the force on that it would be a better all-around unit: "We realize," he said, "that moral incentives are not enough."

He gave assurances that within I month each policeman would be armed with a pistol. The rifles that they now carry will be kept for the defense of barracks and for some special missions.

He also announced the creation of a recreation club and sports area. The club would be located unside police facilities.

At one point in his speech he saked the commander of the Hanagua Police to have the sign at the entrance to the Alex Delgado Complex removed. It reads: Sandinist National Revolutionary Police.

He argued that the name was redundant and that it should be only Sandinist Police, because that implied national and revolutionary.

Police Hagistrates

He announced that a law In about to be passed to combat crime among policemen.

The law will empower police chiefs in each department to sentence offenders to up to I year in prison. The law provides for an appeal before the national police chief to prevent abuses.

He said that offenders used to be arrested and set free the next day.

He stressed that the revolution was keenly interested in getting rid of the remnants of the past, among which he mentioned weak judges and overbearing policemen and members of the Armed Forces, as well as little respect for citizens.

He told the policemen that they should not be overbearing or aggressive. These were characteristics only of backward police agents in a number of Latin American countries.

He said that a person who disgraces a uniform is the worst of criminals because he does not defile himself as a person, but rather an entire institution.

He told them that a progressive policeman does not mistreat a prisoner to get a confession out of him. He explained that in addition to violating principles, this thwarted the development of the police force.

He openly admitted that abuses had at times been committed, but he stressed, raising his voice, that abuses were intolerable at this juncture. He said that information should be secured through technology, one of man's resources.

He virtually challenged them to upgrade their investigation work so that they would be able to intelligently secure a confession without abusing a suspect.

Auxiliary Police

He announced the formation of a joint auxiliary police force consisting of men and women from the people. They will have some degree of authority and carry identification and perhaps wear armbands and a uniform, but they will not receive any pay. Moreover, they will be volunteers of proven integrity.

He asked the police to be implacable in breaking up gangs of criminals but impeccable in handling prisoners. He told them that they should break up the organizations of criminals but nothing else.

Solidarity With El Salvador

At this point in his speech, Commander Borge commented that our country is against any kind of intervention in El Salvador.

"If they venture to intervene in El Salvador, we will regard it as intervention in our own country," Borge told some 2,000 members of the Sandinist National Police attending the ceremony.

Later, in a pleasant and frank talk with national and foreign newsmen, Commander Borge said that for the moment the government did not know "how it would back El Salvador, but we will see as things develop." He spoke briefly about his swing through the socialist countries and mentioned that he had secured a sizeble contribution to our development, more than the \$75 million that the United States was unwilling to loan the country.

He pointed out that Czechoelovakia had definitely agreed to loan the country \$20 million to promote our textile industry.

There are no strings ettached to the loan, and our country can use the money to buy equipment from whomever it chooses.

Minister Borge broached several topics, noting that the counterrevolution could cause some damage but that it would come up against a Micaragua that was not going to retreat.

Purthermore, he said that not only should the United States have loaned us the \$75 million but it also should have donated \$500 million to pay off part of what it owes us.

The literacy campaign among police was then formally inaugurated.

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### EDUCATION MINISTER ON SANDINO'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 8, 9,10 Apr 80

[Article by Education Minister Carlos Tunnermann Bernheim]

[8 Apr 80, p 2]

[Text] General Augusto Cesar Sandino's patriotic and human aspects were many, but his dedication to teaching, which manifested itself even in the heat of battle, is perhaps one of the least widely known and most stimulating. His statesman's viewpoint never bypassed the problems of education; beginning with his very first pupils, his aim was always to raise them to the level of educated and civilized men.

For this reason, more than 6 months having gone by since we became a liberated land, 46 years since his death, and only a little more than 4 years since the martyrdom of our companero Carlos Ponseca--our best interpreter of Sandino--I have thought it appropriate to take a moment from our undertakings to pay tribute to him and to reflect on his work and on the meaning for us of his unsparingness of self.

The existences of great men are not merely statistical models to those who come after but a permanent inspiration to them to continue the struggle; they generate proselytism in direct relation to time, in that the longer they endure the more devalued or the more appreciate they become. Transcendental minds are dynamic models; they move us to creative action rather than sterile and contemplative adoration.

And thus was Sandino. He was so for his followers in his epic undertaking against opprobrious foreign intervention and against the cowardly waverers in our country who supported it, and he has been so for those who have since then untiringly and heroically carried on his fight against a dynasty and an oligarchy that mired our country with infamy for more than 4 decades.

In rendering homage to his memory, I think it appropriate to dwell on some of the mack essential aspects of his example. I firmly believe they are:

a) his indenitable will; b) the alert intelligence with which he interpreted experiences; and c) his vocation for teaching, which is for us today the most important.

In Sandino, heroic courage is combined with his crystal-clear patriotism and his sense of justice. If ever there was a leader who emerged from the viscera of the people, it is Sandino. If ever there was a leader who knew from direct experience the sufferings, the anguish, the miseries of the poor, it is Sandino. If ever there was a statemen who had known the pains of hunger and the bitterness of rage against social discrimination, it was Sandino. A man of his time, he embodied the sufferings and the hopes of an entire people.

He was formed in that rich mold of popular experience of the child who at a very tender age as yet must help his mother gather up coffee beans; of the child who must help his seriously ill mother when the two of them find themselves in a wretched jail cell. It was this experience that kneaded his love for Nicaragua, which was a love of the meek and lowly, of the disinherited, of the poor disadvantaged, of those being exploited by life in all its aspects. This was his first schooling—his most severe test—into which he was thrown by indecent hands, but from which he emerged with renewed spirit and soul. He fought the inequalities that from a very early age had begun to encircle him, and soon became the moving spirit behind demands for rights.

That sense of rebellion against social injustices remained with him as a fundamental attitude toward life, as a point of honor that forbade him to accept cowardice, falseness, fraud or betrayal.

His game rules were clean, like those of all patriots, and it was because of this that he reacted virilely to the words of that Mexican laborer who referred disparagingly to our sense of values as Nicaraguans, calling us "traitors of our own country." Bravely, he decided to move back to his country and take part in the common struggle against the foreigner (1926). It was because of this that he reacted in the San Albino mine against the exactions to which the company subjected its workers and, becoming their leader, commenced his campaign for liberation assisted by them.

Love for his country was with him a point of honor, a pride, that did not translate into a blind hatred, but rather into an ability to react positively—one might even say with stature and generosity—to situations. Disparaged by his father, he worked his way up to becoming his father's principal assistant and eventually the manager of his father's business affairs. Disparaged by General Moncada in the initial stages of the Constitutional War, he came to General Moncada's aid at the latter's subsequent request and saved him and his army from destruction. Disparaged by the

proimperialists, he became the beacon-light of the continent. But his nobleness of spirit enabled him to salute the American people, to reconfide their merit, drawing a clear distinction between them and their evil leaders. He was able to distinguish between power and the people, between privilege and the law.

This is the lesson of noble-mindedness and human understanding our Revolution and the PSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Pront], which is its variation of the PSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Pront], which is its variation of the people may receive their just punishment or exoneration from guilt.

It was, in my opinion, that serene balance between his patriotic passion and his cold appraisal of reality that constantly from the beginning drew the world's attention to him. We have in Sandino at one and the same time a scholar and a man concerned with science and with technology. In this respect he is again very deeply one of our own. Like Dario, he had to mold himself in the harsh disciplines of self-study, of personal rediscovery of learning, of what should have been imparted to him in a school, with loop stressful effort and sacrifice, under a more equitable system.

His ability to study, to learn, to assimilate rapidly enabled him to become an expert mechanic. "I do not even know how I learned to be a lathe operator," he once confessed. We know how: through his diligent observation of reality, his critical, rational, objective examination—devoid of emotions, prejudices and vain boastings—of the operative factors in phenomena.

"Sandino talked to them about Nicaragua's history over the past 20 years: about the Chamorro-Bryan treaty, about those who had overthrown Zelaya, as well as Solorzano, about who in reality was running the country. He talked to them about the power of the Mexican unions, about the unity of the workers in defense of their rights, which are never separable from the future of their motherland. The word "motherland" was ever on his lips... Sandino, the expert mechanic, showed them that an effective grenade can be made from the nuts and bolts of machinery, enclosed with dynamite, pieces of glass and sharp stones in sardine cans..." (Gregorio Selser: "The Crazy Little Army," pp 130-131).

I find exemplary that passage where he tells Jose Ramon Orozco the lessons he learned in his first combat action against the invading American forces in El Ocotal (16 July 1927). Objectively, he recognizes that it ended in a rout for his forces, not denying that the foreigners were better armed and had planes that surprised and frightened his troops. But he tells us:

"The fact is that we learned a great deal from the El Ocotal action: first and most important of all, always have honor and justice on your side, for they sustain the spirit and render it invincible; secondly, the invincibility of the American marines is a pure myth; thirdly, the intervention of enemy military aviation introduced an element of surprise that can hardly be underestimated; and fourthly, we learned the immense value of publicity from the viewpoint of world opinion, and became aware that our principal objective must be to inlong the struggle of protest as such as possible, for in fact, from this standpoint, it is less important to win a battle than to start it and publicize it." ("Accursed Country," p 72).

These are exemplary words, the words of a statesman, of an able political leader who perceived realities. "From the stem of a thistle he made a sword," in the words of the poet Solomon de Selva. Sandino's words are those of a caudillo who has the ability to transform the negative into positive, to discover the inner meanings of the contradictions he encounters. I believe this aspect should be studied in our schools and universities as an example of mental clarity, dialectic depth and the force of logic.

[9 Apr 80, p 2]

[Text] From this ability to learn from reality, Sandino derived his enormous skill as a guerrilla; from it stems also the fact, recognized by military historians, that he provided orientation to guerrilla wars throughout the world. Mao's and Che Guevara's "Guerrilla War" writings came later,

He tells us that at El Chipote he organized a "real Nicaraguan Guerrilla Academy." He mays, "As we fought, we also developed a well-defined guerrilla system based on our experiences in innumerable encounters, favorable and adverse, all of which were reported, commented upon and very minutely analyzed by every officer to draw from them conclusions and lessons to be applied in future circumstances. Some soldiers also participated in this work." ("Accursed Country," p 93).

This, in my view, is one of the major lessons offered us by our greatest hero: learn by analyzing reality. This means confronting reality free of dogmas, free of preconceived ideas, of concepts that deform it or prevent us from grasping its truths or perceiving its decisive factors. Designs and models vary from one country to another. This fact has also been assimilated by our revolution. "We learn from our mistakes," our Sandinist leaders have said. Our own revolutionary experience, in other words, is teaching us to improve our methods, our strategies and our tactics, taking into account that it is our own people, the harsh, tragic experience of our own people, that must teach us truth.

This is what Carlos Fonseca Amador, our hero and martyr, who studied assiduously the lessons of Sandino's action and philosophy, learned from him. Carlos, being a devotee of history, seeking thirstily only the purest of sources, analyzed him thoroughly, taking former and modern revolutions as his contexts.

disparaged theory. For them, experience without theory can only item to toutine and error. Thus, the extraordinary example offered us by initial when he organized the "Guerrilla Academy" at El Chipote. It is place of study, of analysis, of collective sharing of experiences, owhich officers and soldiers brought their acquired knowledge and true for the improvement of the methods of action of all. A school of revolutionary violence is also a school of brotherhood. "Time and history will judge whether the real bandits are over there or in the Nicaraguan Las Segovias, where human love and fraternity reign supreme." ('The Living Philosophy of Sandino," pp 131,132).

This all brings us to another outstanding aspect of Sandino's personal of that of the educator. In every true statesman there is an educator, a teacher. Bolivar was a teacher. Sarmiento, Andres Bello and Marti Arriteachers. Ruben Dario was a teacher. They were teachers as much of the word as of life. Sandino was also a teacher. And in more than one window.

First, in a transcendental sense, because he contributed, as no one star-had, to the molding of a people's conscience, to a channeling of their energies, their capabilities for rebellion, toward the supreme objective of freedom of the motherland. He awakened those who dozed in indifference; he disciplined the indocile and the insubordinate; in those who sought only to satisfy their own appetites he inculcated respect for others and moderation. Converting to reality the aspirations of the poet, he brought together "the many dispersed forces" and created a vigorous, expert, etclent and perfect guerrilla machine.

Secondly, in a direct, concrete sense that we might equally call that of an educational leader or that of the teacher in the classroom, Sandino was consistent. Let us not forget that the "General of Free Men," as Heiri Barbusse called him, was always an excellent pupil.

He believed in study as a means of personal and social betterment. It is often customary to look down on or ridicule those of us in the underdocate oped third-world countries who believe that education is a means of achieving economic growth and social development. We are thought to be dreamers by those who forget that nothing is more down to earth than a war of itelestation, than a revolution planned and executed on eminently nationalistic and hence anti-imperialist lines. Being at the top of the list of Spanish American interventions, we gradually cultivated our own defensive methods until they all came together in the person of an exemplary man, of an extraordinary leader.

And it was by way of that concrete experience that we also gradually learned that without systematic studies, that unless every Nicaraguan becomes literate and has access to education and knowledge, we shall not have

taken an indispensable step toward our social renovation. For this reason, in the field of human endeavors, literacy is for us synonymous with emancipation, with liberation. There is no alternative. Literacy means awareness, and awareness is the beginning of liberation.

Sandino learned this, as I have said, through the hard experience of war. This is why he required all his officers to learn to read. When he wishes to praise the qualifies of any one of his officers, he does so by pointing out the speed with which that officer learned to read, and even cites the officer's mastery of the typewriter. This occurred with General Pedro Altamirano, of whom he says: "During the hazards of battle and despite his age, simply because I had ordered him to do so, Altamirano learned to read and write, haltingly and almost illegibly, but has made great progress, and now, astonishingly, he has learned to use a typeriter although with only one finger as yet." ("Accursed Country," p 113).

"The same thing occurred with General Pedro Blandon. Discovering in him an enormous natural talent, Sandino made him an officer and rapidly promoted him to general. Despite the fact that he was unable to read, Sandino took him as part of his committee to Mexico. There, within 3 months he was reading at high speed, and within 5 months he was touch-typing with all fingers. Prom then on he read constantly all the books and school texts he could buy and lived a life of study." ("Accursed Country," p 125).

In this view of Sandino, learning, education, is solely a means of achieving very practical ends. His officers had to learn to read and write so they could transmit their reports efficiently and so that communications between commands and columns could be as efficient as possible. In this respect he achieved almost a 100-percent success, although his success with the troop soldiers was at best a relative one owing to the contingencies of war and the scarcity of teachers and supplies.

But it was above all in contact with our compatriots, the Miskitos, the Sumas, the Ramas, the Zambos, where he recognized the urgent need of education as an instrument of social development. These have been the eternal disadvantaged. And these people, who live on the fringes of society and in barbarous conditions, must be uprooted from that subhuman world and shown what it is like to live in a more advanced social environment.

Shortly before he was assassinated, Sandino had said, "This task is obviously very difficult, but if we can merely succeed in inculcating dreams, hopes and the most elementary notions of morality and hygiene, we will have achieved a major triumph. On this Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and in our river basins there are thousands upon thousands of Indians: Sumos, Zambos, Miskitos and Caribs... During my war years I had to come here, and I became aware of this reality, since this too is Nicaragua; and I resolved firmly to myself that a soon as the war of independence was over...I would return here to stay in Rio Coco." ("Accursed Country," p 98).

Sandino approached the problem of the social development of these countrymen of ours from two specific standpoints:

From the specific standpoint of education, Sandino organized in his aimy a "Department of Education" which he describes as follows: "The task of the Department of Education, though most important to me, turned out to be very complicated owing to circumstances. It consisted of teaching many officers to read and write, as well as some 90 percent of the soldiers, who were illiterate. Every officer requiring it was assigned an assistant to teach him between battles and ambushes and to report on the officer's progress periodically. Among the soldiers, the task was more difficult, but everything possible was done.

"Several schools were also operated at the following Indian gathering places and hamlets: San Carlos, San San, Krasa, Asan, Bocay Rayty. These schools are referred to here in the past tense because at this particular moment I am not certain what their future has been, but I am absolutely resolved to continue this highly important undertaking now that the war is over; this is another reason why I am pressing for the establishment of the cooperative, since the principal task of those schools is to teach the aborigines the Spanish language, a task that has made much progress. Besides the mentioned schools, there are other minor ones in the canadas, where graphic teaching methods are used." ("Accursed Country," p 135).

This brings us to the second aspect of his approach: the socioeconomic one. Unless there is a correlated socioeconomic program, any educational program is doomed to failure. This is why Sandino wanted to organize a vast cooperative in the Rio Coco where these compatriots can cultivate the land, fish, hunt and exploit the gold resources—an entity that would organize them, provide them with selected seeds, buy their harvests at remunerative prices, and administer to their education, health and general well—being.

# [10 Apr 80, p 2]

Excerpts] The poet Gabriela Mistral called General Augusto Cesar Sandino's army "The Crazy Little Army," because, equipped only with small arms, it was a lunacy to face the world's greatest army, the U.S. arines. Sandino, however, was the promotor of a new kind of sensitivity that enabled his followers to see and hear with Nicaraguan eyes and ears. Claiming to be but a simple craftsman and proclaiming himself, like Dario, to be the worst teacher of his time, he came to teach us beautiful lessons in patriotism, lessons so powerful that nothing will ever destroy them.

For, learning to read what his letters said--that alone is enough to bathe our hands in indelible hues of blue and white. Because after reading "The Living Philosophy of Sandino," the greatest collection of letters my eyes have ever seen after that of Jose Marti, after having held in my hands this stupendous collection by companero Sergio Ramirez Mercado, I could proclaim,

fully certain of my affirmation, that I have actually physically felt the touch of my motherland, that I have vividly sensed its every precise detail framed in light and hope. And if his short treatise is today a beginning learner's text, his many letters will tomorrow be manuals of geography, of history, of sociology, and above all manuals on the defense of our national dignity.

As he said, "What right do foreign troops have to call us bandits and to say that we are the aggressors? We are in our own home. We shall not submit to living a cowardly existence in peace as long as we have a government put up by foreign nations. Is this called patriotism or not? When the invader has been beaten as he must be, my men will be content with their pieces of land, their tools, their mules and their families." ("The Living Philosophy of Sandino," p 123).

When companero Carlos Fonseca Amador said: "Sandino is our way!" he pointed out to us the outlines of what would be our modern approach to education: Start with the child, take him to kindergarten and then onward as a future reservist, until he comes out the man who yesterday felt his way gropingly in the smoke of machine guns, but who today has found safe refuge in the New University, in the true University of the Nation, that is, of the People.

The first rural school in Nicaragua was created under the twofold banner of education and politics, in other words, a true school for the liberation, by General Augusto Cesar Sandino in the Las Segovias mountains in 1928. A genuine rural school alongside the great rivers under the tall trees, where teacher and learner of literacy shared the same inhospitable conditions—the same ground pitted by bombs and the same sky clouded by planes—where the teacher was a guerrilla, the pupil was a guerrilla, and pupils and teachers together, were ever the guerrillas, which is to say they were there to teach, to learn, and to shoot in compelling situations.

Sandino's plan could not have been more functional: teach reading and writing while resting from plowing or when the rifle could be put aside. They were far from being acquainted with Paulo Freire's "Education of the Oppressed," but scourged by the desire to learn, the gear and methods of learning were those dictated by necessity—the necessity that made brave and wise in 7 years of patriotic struggle.

"Henceforth," writes Sergio Ramirez, "his proclamations, his letters, even his telegrams would be written in that language that would never be rhetorical nor superfluous, loaded with passion, but loaded also with truth.... It was the voice of an artisan, of a farm worker, explaining his war in uncomplicated but lyrical language, in the simple tones of a rural school-master in which he also addressed his generals, who, far away in the mountains and the woods with their columns, received those letters from their commander-in-chief, that were lessons in themselves, like poems. Illiterate

generals who had learned only yesterday, in the course of the fighting, to read them and to write, on the machines captured from the enemy, their own letters. It was all like one vast school." (Biography of Sandino, p 43).

Author Sergio Ramirez's words were prophetic, in that Nicaragua today is one vast school. For, if yesterday there was, with General Sandino, a little rural school, now, with the triumph of the Sandinist Revolution, the National Literacy Crusade has transformed our motherland into a vast communal and fraternal school, whose birth dates from 23 March 1980 at 1000 hours, when in every town square throughout the country thousands of youths vowed to end illiteracy.

The overwhelming task of educating a people can only be accomplished in a society that actually lives the ideals of respect for human dignity, for freedom, for independence and for social justice. Only now, therefore, has it become possible for us to undertake successfully our Literacy Crusade: because we now live in the joyous environment of freedom and justice that quarantees our new Revolutionary Nicaragua.

For, poets and novelists will now versify their eulogies of the New Nicaragua as fervorously as they have eulogized its architect and teacher, General Augusto Cesar Sandino. Barbusse, Vallejo, Vasconcelos, Carleton and Salomon de la Selva exalted the feats of the guerrilla. And of the three Spanish American Nobel prize winners—Ms Mistral, Asturias and Neruda—all three of whom also glorified him, Neruda is the one who has best extelled the name of Sandino to the entire world.

Por it was he, this Chilean from the same land as Allende, who first unveiled the educational spirit of the Nicaraguan from the same land as Dario.

For Pablo Neruda was the first to discover that facing the limpid theories of West Point was the nebulous pragmatism of Las Segovias, where "Sandino was a tower of banners in the wind and a rifle loaded with hopes."

And because Sandino learned while fighting and fought while learning—the educator and statesman all in one—the teacher in armed rebellion, wielding with equal splendor his book, his rifle, his pen and his projectile.

And now, the most profound and human battle--since his tragic death--is the one in which we are now engaged, since the launching on 23 March 1980 of the National Literacy Crusade-- when together with 200,000 Nicaraguan youths equipped with notebooks, pencils and reading lamps we undertook to march throughout our half-lighted land and conquer it in a tenacious struggle without precedent in the history of Spanish America.

Now--in the Year of Literacy--our entire land is crisscrossed with lights. Carlos and Sandino are leading us along all its paths. Let us follow them!

Managua, March 1980

"Year of Literacy"

9399

NUNEZ ASKS CDS TO PROTECT LITERACY CRUSADE BRIGADISTS

PAO71732 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1800 GMT 6 May 80

[Text] Revolution commander Carlos Nunez called on the Sandinist Defense Committees [CDS] and mass organizations to increase their vigilance in sectors where the literacy campaign brigadists are working in order to find out who is trying to obstruct the work of the brigadists. Commander Nunez said that no one should dare touch a literacy campaign brigadists because the full weight of the Sandinist revolutionary law would fall on them. In relation to the measures to be taken against those persons, Commander Nunez said that it could be the same taken against Somozist prisoners in the jails of the country because the death pensity does not exist in our country. Commander Nunez reiterated the firm position of our vanguard and mass organizations to support the literacy campaign. Following are statements by Commander Carlos Nunez:

[Begin recording] We want to state and reaffirm that no one should dare touch a literacy crusade brigadist. Let no one even dare attack them physically because the full weight of the revolutionary justice will fall on them. The firm determination of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLM] to protect the national literacy crusade brigadists is part of the defensive action that the FSLN leadership takes against anyone trying to attack or undermine the literacy crusade. In this respect, we are asking the CDS to take the lead in defending the literacy crusade because it is easier for them to protect all those places where Sandinist literacy units are operating. We urge the CDS to organize vigilance groups in each of these places and set up a system of communication with the people so that anyone who dares touch, harass, threaten or attack a member of the literacy crusade brigades will be in deep trouble. [End recording]

## REACTIONARIES SEEN AS INHERITING ANTICOMOUNISM FROM SOMOZA

PA101728 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 29 Apr 80 p 3

[Editorial: "Anticommunies: The Inheritance From Somoza"]

[Text] In view of its inability to face Sandinism in a coherent manner in the ideological sphere, the local reactionaries have had no other recourse than to brandish the banner of anticommunism it inherited from Somoza. In following Somoza's steps, one after the other, the ideologists of the reaction are now repeating the same Somozist statements in order to confuse the people and promote antisandinist attitudes. However, they are going to have the same luck as Somoza--and he had no success with the game.

When Somoza was on the verge of a crisis, he always tried to present himself to the world as a "champion of democracy being attacked by international communism." With this, the dictator thought that he could win some legitimacy locally and abroad to remain in power exploiting and massacring the people. However, the reality was so obvious that Somoza could not deceive anybody. It was clear to all the world that Somoza was describing as "communist" all those actions of our people based on justice and hopes for freedom. He described them as such every time these actions went against his interests and those of imperialism. What Somoza represented—exploitation, misery, submissiveness, the bourgeois military dictatorship and so forth—could not be hidden with a finger.

The same thing is happening now with the new anticommunists who succeeded Somoza. It is useless for Robelo to say on Radio Corporacion that "he is not defending class interests" or that "the Micaraguan Democratic Movement [NDN] defends the workers and the peasants" because reality demonstrates precisely the opposite. Anticommunism continues to be the doctrine of those who defend minority interests. They will always oppose measures aimed at achieving a greater well being for the people at the expense of a reduction in privileges and wealth. They will always attack the process of political and cultural liberation harshly covering up their rage with demagogic and "civilized" language.

All in all, our people cannot allow themselves to be deceived. The historical experience in Latin America shows that it is normal for the "anticommunists" to claim that they are staunch defenders of religion when in

practice they persecute and murder the members of the revolutionary church when this church goes against their interests. We should not be surprised to see that they are proclaiming themselves to be defenders of property, love and family, when they really are the ones who expropriated the land from the people--promoting hatred among classes. They are destroying the family life of the humble and the unemployed. After all, it is a matter of pure demagogy. And just as our people knew how to unmask Somosa, they must now unmask the intentions of those who shamelessly raised the Somosist flag of anticommunism with the same selfish and antipopular purposes.

### BR IEFS

QUARTERLY IMPORT-EXPORT FIGURES -- In 3 months the External Commerce Ministry has achieved 75.8 percent of the export and import objectives set forth in the economic reactivation plan, Companero Alejandro Martines Cuenca, external commerce minister, has reported: [Begin Martines Cuenca recording] We can sum up by saying that among the export objectives set for the ministry through the marketing of products such as cotton, coffee, sugar and sesame we have fulfilled 75.8 percent of the goals set for 1980. According to export figures, Micaragua was going to export \$345 million worth of goods through the agencies under the ministry. To date it has international commitments for \$262 million. As I said, that is the equivalent of 75.8 percent of the goal set for state export firms. As concerns imports, the quarterly goal set for the Micaraguan agricultural materials enterprise totaled \$15.52 million in imports. We can say we surpassed that goal by importing a total of \$17,363,000. [Question] Has the External Commerce Ministry set up new offices abroad to expedite the marketing of our products? [Answer] That is right. Four offices will open this month in New Orleans, London, Madrid and San Jose, Costa Rica. The reason for opening these commercial offices is exclusively to establish contacts to promote exports and purchase more effectively what our government and Nicaragua need for the economic reactivation plan. [End recording] [Text] [PA090349 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 8 May 80]

CURRENCIES FOR PRIORITY IMPORTS--Managua, 9 May (ACAN-EFE)--The Nicaraguan Revolutionary Government's financial advisers have stated the country "has foreign currencies necessary to import priority items and that the government is ready to disburse them." One of them, Arturo Jose Cruz, president of the central bank said here today that although the law and the economic crisis inherited from the previous administration had served to establish priorities for the use of foreign currencies, there is "much flexibility" in the dealings of requests by the private sector. The official said petitions for dollar drafts are being handled already at the official rate of 10 to 1, for students abroad, importing spare parts for agricultural and automotive machinery in general, sports and school supplies, hardware goods and medicines. He said these requests are receiving immediate attention thereby promoting an important increase of the country's inventories. The central bank president also said today he will receive a Nicaraguan Chamber

of Commerce delegation to continue lengthy negotiations and discuss the possible expansion of priorities with the understanding that the government has established certain basic needs of the people which must be attended to. The bank president said some old manifests, whose goods were lost during the war period against Somosism, are being replaced for the private sector, authorising new shipments which already amount to some \$5 million. Crus said the protests and accusations circulating abroad regarding "discrimination" by the Sandinist state against the Nicaraguan private sector "do not reflect the truth." [Text] 'PA100313 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1735 GMT 9 May 80]

FREE DOLLAR MARKET INVESTIGATION -- Managua, 9 May (ACAN-EFE) -- The 'black exchange," the free market of dollars operating in this capital, is being carefully investigated by the Nicaraguan Government. Nicaraguan central bank President Arturo Cruz told newsmen today that the operation of "the coyotes" [free dollar market dealers] as they are called in this country. has been tolerated because it has met certain needs of the people for traveling, drafts to students abroad, and other needs which the government has begun to meet. However, the nation's monetary policy director warned that the operation of this market must be fully known, "because it is feared that the system may be draining the national economy and that unscrupulous pers as could use it to export capital from the country." "The coyotes" operate in the commercial sector of the "Ciudad jardin" in downtown Managua, and have multiplied following the triumph of the Sandinist revolution in July 1979. These persons buy and sell U.S. dollars. Their speculation with dollars fluctuates between 15 and 18 percent. The official cordobs exchange rate for the dollar is 10 to 1. The cordobs is Nicaragua's currency. The authorities also suspect that criminal elements have infiltrated the 200 or more "coyotes," since in recent weeks there has been a wave of attacks on "black exchange" operators in which some 2 million cordobas (200,000) have been stolen. It has been said that these money exchangers do not represent a threat to the exchange controls established by the state and that to the extent that the present level is maintained, this parallel currency market can exist, in which some \$2 million are handled daily. [Text] [PA101340 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1749 GMT 9 May 80]

WORKERS CRITICIZE TREATMENT -- We revolutionary workers of the Sandinist People's Army in charge of vehicle maintenance hereby denounce the inappropriate and subhuman conditions we are facing in our job sites. 1. We are the victims of the anger of some military officers. 2. They threaten to fire us out of arrogance. 3. Intrigues and disunity among our number are being promoted by those responsible for the base. 4. We denounce the indiscipline and [words indistinct] of our responsible officials. [Passage omitted containing point 5] 6. Contrary to the labor laws, we are being made to work 56 hours a week. So the general directorate and the general staff will take appropriate action and in keeping with what Companero Tomas Borge has said to report the name of those whose actions are marring the name and prestige of the army, we denounce Ricardo Arevalo Ramires, responsible for the base; Danilo Ramirez Brenes, responsible for the technical section; Alfonso Delgado, chief of [words indistinct] technical lisison officer, and Guillermo Pena, a purchaser, as responsible for this whole situation. [Excerpts] [PA080217 Hanagua Radio Mundial in Spanish 1900 GMT 7 May 80] 123

REPORT ON REVENUE COLLECTIONS—The Managua reconstruction panel has collected 40 million cordobas in 4 months as opposed to collections under the Somoza administration which totaled merely 29 million during a similar period of time. Panel treasurer companero Uriel Arauz will explain further: [Begin recording] On 15 April we figured that collections through 30 April would total 40 million cordobas, which is the equivalent of 50 percent of estimated collections for 1980. In other words, we had estimated we would collect 80 million cordobas in 1980 and in the first 4 months of the year we have collected 50 percent of that. We hope that in the next 8 months we will collect about 60 million more cordobas. [End recording] [Excerpt] [PA301834 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 30 Apr 80]

STATE COUNCIL REPRESENTATION--Mariano Fiallos Oyanguren, rector of the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua, has been appointed representative of the superior education council at the state council, it was officially reported yesterday in a bulletin. [PA270343 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 26 Apr 80 PA]

# PDC NATIONAL DIRECTORATE VIEWS ELECTORAL GUARANTEES

PA020541 Panema City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 29 Apr 80 pp 1, 16

[Text] The Christian Democratic Party [PDC] will hold another meeting of its national directorate in order to arrive at a final decision in regard to the election of the 19 provincial representatives to the National Legislation Council and therefore whether to register or not before the deadline on 21 May.

Meanwhile, Ricardo Ariae Calderon, president of the political committee said that, "We have no objection to pitting our voting strength against the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD] or the government, but we will do this with guarantees and not by playing the role of "the tied donkey and the loose tiger."

Arias Calderon insisted that no one knows the electoral law and therefore cannot arrive at a decision regarding legal norms "which are still in the air."

The FDC is certain that we must find peaceful means to change the country's political structures.

FDC Communique Regarding Elections

The FDC National Directorate, in a meeting held on 26 April, discussed the matter of participation or abstention in the elections scheduled to choose a third of the National Legislation Council.

The discussion dealt with two main aspects:

- 1. The above-mentioned elections do not satisfy the need for institutional changes which most Panamanians demand to attain a true democracy and to solve the deep crisis affecting the nation.
- 2. The Panamanian people insistently seek practical and peaceful means to intensify the political struggle against those who prevent changes and who make our crisis more acute.

In brief, the national directorate evaluated the forthcoming electoral process, not because the election of 19 legislators is very important within the present political system, but because the electoral process can mean an opportunity to fight against an antidemocratic regime and an opportunity for the people to organize politically and express their repudiation to the regime.

As a result of this discussion, the PDC National Directorate concluded that the only reason the national government and the official sectors have not approved the electoral law is because they are afraid to face the people's decisions in a truly representative election with full guarantees.

This is especially true because they have not set a date yet and they don't know whom they will nominate for the election.

We also say that this fear to face the people is what inspires the repressive measures which the government has taken against the communication media, leaders and labor organizations, as well as the sectarian attitude of the president of the republic when he threatens government workers and places the government resources at the service of the official party.

Therefore, the national directorate agreed to meet again to reach a final decision as soon as the legal regulations determining the coming elections are published.

Our experience and the fear shown by the government sector is not only compromising the possibility of our participating in these elections, but also suggests what may happen during the announced presidential elections for 1984 under this same regime. Therefore, we are compelled to warn the government and the national guard that supports it that if a people are deprived of means to express its will peacefully, then it seeks other means to express it as has happened in our sister Central American nations.

Panama, 28 April 1980.

LABOR GROUPS PROTEST COST OF LIVING, UNEMPLOYMENT

PA021737 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2315 GMT 1 May 80

[Excerpts] Panamanian labor organizations today demonstrated at the International Labor Day commemoration and publicly protested against the rising cost of living, Law 95 and unemployment. The participants--members of the National Central of Panamanian Workers, the Isthmian Workers Federation, the National Confederation of Panamanian Workers, and the Independent Labor Federation--displayed placards and shouted slogans referring to International Labor Day and the social problems affecting the country.

The demonstrators were supported by the Communist Party and the Workers Socialist Party, which marched carrying red flags and shouting leftist slogans. Also attending the rally were Central American revolutionary sectors, specifically the Popular Revolutionary Bloc and its Panamanian supporters.

The labor leadership agreed to consider the Torrijos-Carter treaties as an important achievement, but criticized the government for not exerting enough pressure to enforce full compliance with the treaties' implementation.

In the domestic sector, the labor leadership demanded the derogation of Law 95 and confirmed its determination to struggle for better living conditions. It noted the existence of some 174,000 unemployed in the country. The leadership demanded a better definition of the official employment and wages policy.

Labor and Social Welfare Minister Oyden Ortega said:

[Begin recording] On a day like today, it is convenient to say to you that the fellow workers of Local 900, presently on strike in the Panama Canal area, are confirming the rights established by the labor code. In that area, there as a large number of businessmen who refuse to comply with the Panamanian laws and who are being supported in this by officials of the U.S. Government, because aside from the legal status of the action, this strike of Local 900 against the contract service firm is justified. Any such action within the labor sector in support of the workers' rights must have the support of our ministry. [End recording]

TORRIJOS INTERCEDES WITH NICARAGUAN OFFICIALS TO HELP BOXER

PA030248 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2315 GMT 2 May 80

[Report by Lus Maria Holi]

[Excerpt] Nicaraguan Alexis Arguello, world junior lightweight champion of the World Boxing Council, met at noon with Gen Omar Torrijos Herrera at the official residence of the former Panamanian Government chief on 50th Street. Arguello arrived in Panaman City at dawn to ask Torrijos' help in solving the problem he has with Nicaraguan authorities regarding his properties in Hanagua. Arguello was accompanied by his manager, Eduardo Roman, and Colonel Mandieta.

During the meeting, Torrijos got in touch with the Nicaraguan authorities so Arguello could talk with them. During the telephone call to Nicaragua, the Nicaraguan Government officials told the boxing champion that they would guarantee his safety as a result of a formal agreement with the Panamanian Government and people.

The meeting which lasted most of the afternoon was cordial. Besides talking about Arguello's problem, the participants also discussed sports, particularly boxing. At the end of the meeting, Arguello spoke about his talk with Torrijos:

[Begin Arguello recording] I think Mr Torrijos acted the way I had hoped he would. It was a positive meeting. I will go to Nicaragua next week under the protection of the Panamanian flag. As a result of his help, I will now be able to go to Nicaragua without any risk and be able to solve the problem I am having with my property in Nicaragua.

[Question] How was this help schieved? Was there direct contact with the Micaraguan authorities?

[Answer] General Torrijos got in touch with Bayardo Arce of Nicaragua to discuss my problems in Nicaragua. I explained to Torrijos the situation, the arbitrary way that my properties were taken away from me. Penama has had many world boxing champions and knows well their dedication and the

hard way that boxers earn their money. Panama knows well how we boxing champions earn our money so that is why Torrijos is interceding in this so that Nicaragua will be a little more aware of my problem.

[Question] What kind of guarantees did the Nicaraguan authorities give you?

[Answer] Mr Omar is going to notify me when everything is ready. I think a Panamanian Government official is going to accompany me to Nicaragua so I will not have trouble moving about in Nicaragua. In this way, I will have the guarantee of being able to leave Nicaragua whenever I want to.

[Question] Why were these guarantees given to you?

[Answer] I spoke with Mr Bayardo Arce, a member of the new Nicaraguan Government, a few minutes ago. He gave me guarantees that nothing will happen to me when I go clarify my situation. I insisted that they give me guarantees that I would be safe. They told that what better guarantee could I have than a commitment with General Torrijos and the Panamanian people who have helped the revolution. They told me that this was the best support I could have since they have commitments and are very close to the Panamanian Government. [End recording]

### BRIEFS

RESCUE ATTEMPT CRITICISM SCORED -- If the "rescue" operation to save the American hostages planned by His Excellency the President of the United States of America had been successful, the American people and the nations of the world, among them Russia and Cuba, would have chanted hymns of praise, rendered him a magnificent homage of worldly recognition and he would have been showered with congratulatory messages from the powerful nations of the world. The Olympic games in Russia would have been completely and unanimously put aside and nonattendance at this Olympic sports competition would have been absolute. But the operation failed; it did not achieve the desired outcome. And now even the frogs, worms and the most disgusting scum have the courage to face that exemplary president called Jimmy Carter whose concern for the hostages in Iran surpassed that of the hostages' own parents and relatives. We have always believed that victory has many friends and defeat many detractors. We burn incense and prostrate ourselves before he who has strength and power, no matter what he may have done for the benefit of others. It doesn't matter if he has fought or struggled to give us our daily bread. We are of such poor spirit and so unjust that we ignore and forget what has been done for our well-being and prosperity. We have heard cruel and cutting remarks against that great president called Jimmy Carter, but it is God who rules the fate of men and nations and if there were good and worthy intentions in the U.S. President's unsuccessful rescue operation, we are sure that in the end victory will be his, sooner or later. And then, he who laughs last will laugh best. [Text] [PA090212 Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 5 May 80 p 2-A]

INVESTMENT IN CANAL AREA--Jose A. Espino, national coordination director at the Planning Ministry, said during a meeting held yesterday with President Dr Aristides Royo and the ministry staff that big possibilities of investing in the canal area have been lost due to the appetite of certain politicians. Espino added that the lack of imagination of local investors and the lack of creativity of the businessmen have impeded the use of our geographic position now that those lands have reverted back to our jurisdiction due to the Torrijos-Carter treaties. He said that the canal area can be used for commerce and the industrialization or assembly of goods to be distributed in Latin America, the Far East and Europe. [Excerpt] [PAO20534 Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 30 Apr 80 p 7-A]

### BRIEFS

NEW PARTY--Kingstown, St. Vincent, Tuesday, (CANA)--Three opposition members in the House of Assembly are in a newly-formed political party--the Working People's Party (WPP)--which they claim is now the official opposition, according to a press report. The Vincentian newspaper identified one of the officers as Calder Williams, former leader of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) which won only two out of 13 seats in last year's general elections not taken by the ruling St. Vincent Labour Party (SVLP). Williams, is the chairman of the new party, and lawyer Victor Cuffy, and trade unionist Brinsey Nickie, two newly appointed opposition senators, are general secretary and assistant secretary respectively. The paper quoted a release from the three officers which states: "The Working People's Party now forms the official opposition in the (St. Vincent) House of Assembly. [Text] [FLO61015 Bridgetown ADVOCATE-NEWS in English 30 Apr 80 p 3]

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